IMPLEMENTATION OF THE HELSINKI ACCORDS

HEARING

BEFORE THE

COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE

ONE HUNDRED SECOND CONGRESS

FIRST SESSION

BALTIC LEADERSHIP ON STATUS OF INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS

MAY 7, 1991

Printed for the use of the
Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe

[CSCE 102-1-4]

U.S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

43-645 ≈ WASHINGTON : 1991

For sale by the U.S. Government Printing Office
Superintendent of Documents, Congressional Sales Office, Washington, DC 20402
ISBN 0-16-035326-2

J 891-19

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CONTENTS

WITNESSES

	Page
President Vytautas Landsbergis of Lithuania	4
Prime Minister Ivars Godmanis of Latvia	12
Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar of Estonia	15

APPENDIX

Opening Statement of Chairman Steny H. Hoyer	33
Opening Statement of Co-Chairman Dennis DeConcini	35
Statement of Assistant Secretary William D. Fritts, Jr., Commissioner	37
Statement of Hon. Louise M. Slaughter, a Representative in Congress from the State of New York	39
An Appeal by the Members of the Republics of Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania	42
Selected Documentation on Human Rights Violations Committed by the U.S.S.R. in the Republic of Lithuania, January-April 1991	43
Chronicle of Offences Committed by U.S.S.R. Armed Forces on the Republic of Lithuania, 7 January-25 April 1991	72

BALTIC LEADERSHIP ON STATUS OF INDEPENDENCE MOVEMENTS

TUESDAY, MAY 7, 1991

COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE
Washington, DC.

The Commission met in room 2226, Rayburn House Office Building, Washington, DC, at 10 a.m., Hon. Steny Hoyer, Chairman, presiding.

Members present: Steny H. Hoyer, Chairman, Dennis DeConcini, Co-Chairman, Edward J. Markey, William Richardson, Don Ritter, Christopher H. Smith, Frank Lautenberg, and Alfonse M. D'Amato.

Also present: Craig Thomas, John Miller, Clarence E. Miller, Benjamin Cardin, William Sarpalius, Richard J. Durbin, Dennis M. Hertel, and Albert G. Bustamante.

Staff present: Samuel G. Wise, Staff Director, and David M. Evans, Senior Advisor for Soviet and East European Affairs.

OPENING STATEMENT OF CHAIRMAN HOYER

Chairman HOYER. The hearing of the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe will come to order.

We are, indeed, very, very honored to have such distinguished leaders on behalf of freedom, independence, and democratization in our midst. President Landsbergis, Prime Minister Savisaar, Prime Minister Godmanis, distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen, it is a pleasure for me to welcome you all to this hearing of the Helsinki Commission.

Our hearing comes at a time when there is continuing peril for the people of Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia. In Lithuania, Soviet troops recently seized more government buildings. In Latvia, the Baltic Military Personnel Union has been reactivated to defend the unity of the U.S.S.R.

As Chairman of the Commission, I recently visited, along with many others, the Baltic States. We saw first hand the destruction that had been wrought by the hand of force from Moscow. We felt a tension in the air. But, we also felt the spirit of determination of the Baltic people. We heard voices of hope that reason would prevail in Moscow, and a hope that the West would continue and increase its support for their worthy struggle.

Following our visit, I, along with other members of the delegation, introduced legislation in the Congress which would expand and solidify U.S. support for your three countries.

The Co-Chairman of the Commission, Senator DeConcini, introduced an identical bill on the Senate side. I am pleased to say that

this legislation has been co-sponsored by more than 80 Members of the House and Senate.

We trust that this hearing, and the presence of our distinguished guests, will reaffirm, not only the Helsinki Commission's and the Congress' commitment to this struggle, but also the commitment of the American people.

Our guests today are all leaders in the struggles for freedom in their homelands. In recognition of their leadership, they have been selected by the legislatures of their elected parliaments to fill important positions of trust and responsibility.

President Landsbergis was elected Chairman of the Lithuanian Supreme Council in March 1990. Shortly after, the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet declared with the overwhelming support of its citizens the reestablishment of Lithuanian independence. This is his first visit away from Lithuania since the bloody events of January 13, that left 14 innocent civilians dead.

Prime Minister Godmanis was elected Prime Minister by the Latvian Legislature in May 1990. Prime Minister Godmanis had been leading efforts to develop an independent free market economy in Latvia.

Prime Minister Savisaar was elected Prime Minister by the Estonian Legislature in April 1990. He was the co-founder of the Estonian Popular Front and co-author of the Estonian Plan For Economic Independence. He has also served as Chairman of the Estonian State Planning Committee and Deputy Chairman in the Estonian Council of Ministers.

On February 9, just prior to our arrival in Lithuania, the citizens of Lithuania voted overwhelmingly in the public opinion poll to restore Lithuania's independence.

On March 3, the citizens of Estonia and Latvia sent the same clear, strong, unequivocal message to Moscow and to the world.

The members of the Commission are eager to hear from each of you as to how your nations are progressing and turning the clearly expressed desire of the Baltic people for freedom into reality and how we may help you.

If our distinguished visitors would allow us, however, before recognizing them, I would ask if any member of the Commission would like to make a very brief opening statement so that we can get to the President, and the Prime Ministers.

Mr. SMITH. Very, very briefly, Mr. Chairman. I want to welcome our very distinguished panel. It's very rare, indeed, when two Prime Ministers and a President come before any committee or commission of Congress. Today you not only brief our Commission, but you brief the American people, to give us an update as to what's been happening in your respective countries.

As part of the delegation very ably led by our Commission Chairman, Mr. Hoyer, we saw first hand in mid-February the kind of courage and courageous, heroic action that is truly inspiring by your leadership in confronting a very considerable foe in the Kremlin.

So, we welcome you and look forward to hearing what you have to say.

Chairman HOYER. Mr. Richardson of New Mexico.

Mr. RICHARDSON. Mr. Chairman, I, too, want to welcome our distinguished visitors, and I was at the airport when the tumultuous scene greeted you, and I think it's emblematic of the very strong support you have by the American people.

I just want to commend Chairman Hoyer for his leadership in dealing with issues relating to the Baltic. He goes first hand to get an assessment, he holds hearings, he passes legislation, he makes public statements. This afternoon, this committee is going to be meeting with former Foreign Minister Shevardnadze. I don't know how he does all of this, and I am just in awe of his leadership and friendship, and, Mr. Chairman, I'd like to ask unanimous consent to put my statement in the record.

Chairman HOYER. Thank you. Thank you very much for your kind comments.

And, Mr. Cardin of Maryland.

Mr. CARDIN. Thank you.

I would also like to extend congratulations to our Chairman, Congressman Hoyer, for holding these hearings, and I additionally would like to thank our distinguished panel for the hospitality showed to us during our visit to your countries, roughly 2 months ago. I was very pleased to be a part of the historic delegation that demonstrated the support and friendship between our nation and yours.

Your visit here, collectively, is extremely important to advance the cause of freedom and democracy in your countries, and we most enthusiastically welcome you here, today.

Chairman HOYER. Thank you, Mr. Cardin.

Mr. Sarpalius of Texas who was also on our delegation.

Mr. SARPALIUS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I, too, welcome you here to the United States. Being a Lithuanian myself, it is an honor and a privilege to have you here in our country.

I've had the privilege of meeting with you and visiting Lithuania twice now, and I'm anxious to hear about your continual struggles for freedom and independence and recognition, and anxious to hear your opinions on how we might help you in your goal, in your joining for democracy and freedom in your countries.

Thank you.

Chairman HOYER. Mr. Miller, John Miller of Washington?

Mr. MILLER. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I think the last time President Landsbergis and I met was in a hotel around 2:00 in the morning in Moscow a couple of years ago, just a day or two after your elections.

I am just so impressed, we have such a distinguished panel from the Baltic nations here, and as I think Mr. Sarpalius said, we are eager to hear your suggestions on what we can do to secure independence and freedom for the Baltic countries.

And, Mr. Chairman, thank you for holding this hearing.

Chairman HOYER. Thank you.

Mr. Craig Thomas, who was also with us on our delegation's visit to the Baltic States in February.

Mr. THOMAS. I'm delighted to see you. I am not Lithuanian. I went there because I was very impressed and came away more impressed with your dedication to resolve the freedom and self-determination, and I hope we can be helpful to you.

Welcome, we're delighted to have you here.

Chairman HOYER. Thank you very much for those opening statements, and now for the reason that we are all, to hear from the three of you, and the message of how things are at the present time, where you think they are going, and your suggestions on how we may proceed together.

First, let me recognize you, Mr. President, and thank you again for your hospitality, not only in terms of our meetings, but in terms of the delightful lunch.

The only lament that any of us had was that we were too short of time in your country, but we look forward to returning.

President Landsbergis.

TESTIMONY OF PRESIDENT VYTAUTAS LANDSBERGIS OF LITHUANIA

President LANDSBERGIS. Mr. Chairman, members of Congress, ladies and gentlemen, in discussing human rights violations by the Soviets in Lithuania, I want to speak first of all about the human right to live. Allow me to cite the impressions of one of many witnesses to the events of the night of January 13 in Vilnius contained in a publication chronicling these events. Algirdas Sukys of Vilnius reported:

> We held hands as we stood in front of a huge moving tank which crawled by quite close to us. Hardly had I managed to pull my leg away from its treads when on the left, almost beside me, I heard a scream. Turning, I saw a woman or a girl lying on her back (in the shade of the tank it was hard to see her face distinctly, but I noticed she had a light-colored kerchief or a cap on her head, and was wearing a light-colored scarf and a dark or grey coat). Her legs were under the treads of the tank. Men tried to push the tank back, to pull the victim out, but they could not budge such a heavy object (it was a heavy tank, not an armored personnel carrier). I began to hit the top of the tank with my fists, screaming in Russian that there was a woman under the tank. Then, cursing furiously, a soldier jumped up to me, gave me a poke in the back, kicked me in the stomach and pushed me from the tank. The tank drove backwards, but before moving forward, it pulled back a bit and ran over the woman once more. Several men took the injured woman and carried her off. At the same time on the right side shots were heard. One soldier wearing a helmet shot at a man who fell down and who was also taken away from the tower into the darkness. A young, well-built man in a soldier's uniform and with medals on his chest, standing among us, jumped in front of the tank and fell down, shouting, "What are you doing? You're shooting at your own people! I served together with you in the army. Even in Afghanistan we didn't act like this. Crush me, too!" A soldier ran up to him. I don't think he managed to kick the man lying on the ground because our men pulled him to where we were. He stood and cried. Big tears were rolling down his face. We joined our hands and began to chant, "Lithuania! Lithuania! Lithuania will be free!"

In order to avoid a repetition of these events in the future, Lithuania must attain complete national independence. This independence must be recognized not only in word, that is in some legalistic formulations (as has been the case up until now), but also by nations taking new political action. You understand what is needed to make sure that the next Soviet military attack, resulting in loss of life, is condemned not only in the European parliament as it was the last time, but also in the U.N. General Assembly and among the democratic members of the Security Council. The proposed resolution by Congressman Don Ritter and Senator Donald Riegle exemplifies what is needed. I trust that this time the U.S. Congress will not hesitate to support it.

Nevertheless, I would like to bring up another aspect of Soviet policy and political behavior better known as outright robbery. It is a policy or behavior that the Soviet Government allows its soldiers and its state officials, and against which we Lithuanians can defend ourselves only by limited means. We are left on our own. They steal everything, robbing our people of their personal possessions as well as of their country.

All of the assaults of the past few weeks by the Soviet Army in Lithuania can be termed as "attacks in small doses" resulting in a "creeping occupation." They also include thievery.

They have attacked Lithuanian police patrols, customs officers, drivers' schools, and flight training schools. This behavior was always accompanied by vandalism, breaking windows and destroying furniture, terrorizing people with death threats. They robbed the police of their personal weapons. They stole radio equipment from a customs post. They took televisions, personal camera equipment, a typewriter, a drill, tires, and construction materials (including a can of paint!) from the above-mentioned schools and the flight training schools.

Obviously, this is armed robbery. When armed robbery is carried out by an army, it is the best confirmation that this is an occupying army acting not in its own country but in a foreign, occupied country.

In this case, the Soviets should abide by special international conventions, including the Geneva Convention, which specifically prohibits an occupying country to conscript occupied people into its army. But they violate these and many other conventions. For example, young Lithuanian men are being conscripted by force into the occupying Soviet Army, apprehended on the street in broad daylight or even taken from their parents' homes.

The confiscation of police weapons is a case in point. Clearly, anyone who disarms a policeman is aiding the criminals of the underworld. But the Soviet army troops deployed in Vilnius do not limit themselves to nighttime attacks on police patrols. Having gotten a decree from Moscow, they took over the police weapons armory.

Two months have passed. The Lithuanian Ministry of Internal Affairs, which includes the Police Commission, is conducting negotiations with the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the U.S.S.R. Leading Soviet authorities have promised several times to return the stolen weapons, but this hasn't happened yet. The guilty parties haven't been punished; in fact, they are being praised.

Back in January a special unit of the "Black Berets," subordinate to the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Internal Affairs, took over the building of the Lithuanian Police Academy in Vilnius. They settled in there as if it belonged to them. They have not yet returned the building to the Police Academy.

One month ago, last month, Soviet soldiers occupied the Vilnius driver's school which was built with Lithuanian Republic funds. They continue to occupy it, and show no signs of leaving.

The greatest theft of a building, equipment, and civil property was the attack upon the Lithuanian television and radio tower in Vilnius in January of this year. A thousand people have lost their workplace because they refused to work for an occupying force.

In taking over the Lithuanian television tower, 13 people were killed. One died later from wounds. Our doctors were unable to help because of the Soviet bullets which riddled the injured body.

The world learned about this inhuman act of aggression by international television and from the press, and by video coverage provided by Lithuanian journalists. As of now, however, very little or perhaps nothing at all has been said about the fate of Soviet "war booty."

The Soviet Army still occupies the buildings it took over, the only change being that the special killer units subordinate to the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Internal Affairs have been replaced by others. People are staging hunger strikes in front of the main complex of the Lithuanian Television and Radio Studios: directors, technicians, editors are in this way protesting the Soviet occupation of their place of work. The Prosecutor General of the Republic of Lithuania has instituted a criminal charge against Soviet Internal Affairs Minister Pugo. The Lithuanian parliament and Government has contacted Soviet authorities several times, both officially and unofficially, with protests, requests, and proposals that the Soviet Army be removed from the Lithuanian Television and Radio building.

Unfortunately, the U.S.S.R. Government did not make this gesture of goodwill. On the contrary, it plans to nurture one thoroughly compromised group of political bandits known to be connected to the shadowy National Salvation Committee. This group is using the occupied television station for its own propaganda purposes. Remarkably, Mr. Gorbachev himself has called the activities of such groups anti-constitutional. Perhaps the soldiers are carrying out assignments that would provoke an armed conflict. Or perhaps they think that Lithuania will capitulate, will allow itself to be trampled, and will go the way of the Communists, along with the occupiers of the television tower.

Then the actions of the occupiers would appear to be retroactively justified—as the capitulation of Lithuania, something they have been demanding since March 15, 1990, and as the justification and legalization of the old 1940 crimes of Stalin.

Here we remember the biggest Soviet theft, the forcible seizure and occupation of an entire neighboring country—Lithuania, and the freedom and a homeland which was taken from its people. Latvia and Estonia, as we know, suffered the same fate in 1940.

It's a shame with the concern modern democracies show for human rights, there is rarely a mention of the right to a homeland. Granted, this right is acknowledged, but not for all. It is especially strange that this right is not recognized for those countries which had attained nation-state status and whose people enjoyed the freedom to develop and express their love of country.

After 1940, the people of Lithuania defended that right during a campaign of anti-Bolshevik, anti-Nazi and then once again anti-Bolshevik resistance. This right was taken away, the resistance crushed. Lithuania lost more than a fourth of its population. Lithuania was bypassed by the pledges of the Atlantic Charter and other international agreements. Thus World War II has not ended for Lithuania nor for the other Baltic States.

And yet the Lithuanian Reform Movement, "Sajudis," was founded in 1988 to take up the defense of all human rights: the

right to live, to live honorably, creating prosperity through one's own labor; to live not in a colony where man's natural environment is mercilessly destroyed by a distant metropolis; to live in one's own state, that is, to have one's own homeland, which will defend and guarantee human and civil rights. Following the elections of February-March 1990 these rights are defended by the freely elected Lithuanian parliament and Government, which the Soviet leadership so despises and would like to smash. Why? Because the Soviets do not want to return those things which they have stolen.

From our own experience we could advise the U.S. Congress and administration: don't believe in a government of thieves which deceives everyone. Put the top Soviet leadership to the test by asking them these questions: Why don't you return the television and radio buildings which you have stolen to the Lithuanian Government and the people who work in those buildings? Why do you continue to be in possession of stolen goods and allow your army to continue its plundering?

The Lithuanian people have a good proverb: He who lies also steals.

The entire Soviet system has been based on lies, thus it has also been based on theft.

Consequently, economic reforms will not be sufficient to fix the system. It is necessary to renounce lies and return that which was stolen. Only after that, is it appropriate to seek from others their trust, their generous benevolence, their credits.

Only by following such a path can the former evil empire become a different society and state or, to be more precise, a commonwealth of free states.

We contribute to that process when we reject Soviet lies which, as Ceslow Milosz pointed out in his book "The Captive Mind," are aimed at stealing and subjugating even our minds.

We contribute to that process when we refuse to accept thievery and refuse to be friends with thieves.

Is it possible to do this on the level of inter-state relations? Probably not, but it would be worthwhile for all to recall and reflect upon these points.

Thank you.

Chairman HOYER. Mr. President, thank you very, very much for that very powerful statement.

Since we started, we have had the addition of some additional Members of Congress. I'm going to ask if they would like to make a brief statement, and I'm going to recognize the Ranking Republican on the Commission, but first let me recognize Mr. Dennis Hertel, who was with us, as you will recall, on our visit to the Baltic States.

Mr. Hertel?

Mr. HERTEL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

We are just so happy to have you here, so that we can hear your statements, and hear your testimony, so that we can stand with you for freedom in your countries. I appreciate that very much, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman HOYER. Thank you, Mr. Hertel.

I'd now like to recognize Mr. Durbin, who was also with us, and who has been, as all of the members on this dais have been, a leader in the effort to make sure that we do not forget the situation in the Baltic States.

Mr. Durbin.

Mr. DURBIN. I'm honored to be with you today and to welcome our guests, President Landsbergis, for him it has been many years, Prime Minister Godmanis, a gentleman I had the pleasure of meeting with in Latvia, and Prime Minister Savisaar, thank you very much for joining us.

Fifty years ago the United States of America refused to recognize the Soviet occupation of the Baltic nations. As a symbol of our commitment to the Baltic nations, we have kept your flags flying in the State Department here in Washington, DC.

If those flags had been displayed to make the American people feel good about themselves, then that was a mistake. But, if they have been displayed as a commitment to the Baltic nations from the people of the United States of America to your freedom and independence, then they are, in fact, a good symbol of a good relationship that we want to see continued.

There is much talk about self-determination for the Baltic nations. I think a more appropriate term is self-government. We know what the people of the Baltic nations want, they want freedom. They want the authority to govern themselves.

I believe it's our responsibility in the name of human rights and our commitment to your nations to continue and to make certain that day comes, and it comes very soon.

Thank you so much for joining us today.

Chairman HOYER. Thank you, Mr. Durbin.

I have just received, from one of your staff, Mr. President, some additional documents. We will review those and probably will include most of those in the record at this time, or excerpts of them.

Now, I'd like to recognize Mr. Donald Ritter, the Ranking member of the Commission on the House side.

Mr. RITTER. Thanks so much, Mr. Chairman, and I want to welcome our distinguished Baltic witnesses, President Landsbergis, Prime Minister Savisaar and Prime Minister Godmanis. I consider all of you dear friends, comrades in arms in the great struggle for freedom, and all of us here, particularly those who went on the mission to the Baltics, remember the tremendous hospitality that you afforded us and the insight that we gained while there.

Your bravery and your commitment to freedom honors us as Americans. The kinds of things you stand for are the kinds of things that our own United States is based upon.

We find here in Washington many statues and monuments to America's founding fathers, and we pay great tribute to the men they were dedicated to, Madison, Jefferson, Washington and others. They were men like you, who stood bravely against great odds.

To paraphrase our Declaration of Independence, they risked their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honors for principles that they believed to be true and worth fighting and dying for, the very same principles that you embrace and seek for your country against odds as great, or, perhaps, even greater.

But, I regret to say that many of our founding fathers, if they were alive today, would be disturbed by the ambivalence of some of our nation's leaders; their failure to recognize your governments when they declared independence.

I believe this hesitancy on the part of some in our Government is a mistake. I am convinced that if democracy, self-determination and the rule of law are allowed to die from neglect, or to be crushed in the Baltics, then they are also doomed for the rest of the people in the Soviet Union. As go the Baltics, so goes the rest of the Soviet Union. If democracy can't make it in the Baltics it's not going to make it anywhere in the Soviet Union.

The impact on world peace would be devastating. There is a direct link between freedom and democracy in the Baltic States and world peace. It's, therefore, in the interest of our nation, for the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe to seek de facto and then de jure recognition by the United States for the freely elected governments of the Baltic nations.

I believe the United States must take leadership in the world community on Baltic recognition, so that other nations will follow.

As all of you know, particularly President Landsbergis because you spoke on behalf of this legislation before 200,000 people in Vilnius, I have introduced H.R. 142. It's purpose is to urge the President to issue a statement to recognize de facto the Government of Lithuania, upgrade the status of the Lithuania legation in Washington to that of an embassy, provide direct assistance to the elected Government of Lithuania, setup an official U.S. Representative's office in Lithuania, as well as privately sponsored information and education centers, and to work to establish a Baltic bank for reconstruction and development that would use capital from Western investor nations to help foster democracy and stable free market economies in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia.

I consider this move first in Lithuania, as a kind of tip-of-the-iceberg, since Lithuania seems to be a little more ready to go in this direction. However, I believe Latvia and Estonia can be right there as well.

Mr. Chairman, thank you very much for yielding to me at this time and breaking up the flow of the hearings.

Once again, I welcome my good friends and look forward to their testimony.

Chairman HOYER. The last person I will recognize before we hear from Mr. Savisaar and Mr. Godmanis, is the Ranking Republican member on the Senate side of the Helsinki Commission, who is the former Chairman of the Helsinki Commission, and who has certainly been, as all of you know, very, very active with respect to Baltic freedom, Senator D'Amato of New York.

Senator D'AMATO. Mr. Chairman, let me commend you for calling these hearings, and for your leadership role. I'm not going to make a long statement. I'm going to say that it's good to see the champions, those who champion the cause of freedom here today.

The United States of America should be in the forefront fighting for freedom, standing up for it, not making deals on the altar of political expedience.

So, I say to my dear friend Mr. Godmanis, President Landsbergis, Mr. Savisaar, you are truly the people who are on that front line.

We look forward to hearing you. The American people, whose attention has been diverted as a result of the events in the Middle East, should know of the struggles that you are waging on behalf of freedom. We all talk about it, we all say that we cherish it, but when it comes time to do, when it comes time to rock the boat, we are not always there. That's unfortunate. That's unfortunate, because we betray ourselves, our own heritage. We betray our own country, the principles upon which it has been built, and the principles that make it different from most other nations. Protecting those principles is the purpose of this Nation.

We look forward to working with you who represent the voice of people who seek dignity, who seek true freedom.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman HOYER. Thank you, Senator, very much.

I'd now like to recognize Mr. Savisaar, the Prime Minister of Estonia, and welcome Mr. Savisaar to our session.

Prime Minister SAVISAAR. Honorable Mr. Chairman, Honorable members of Congress, ladies and gentleman.

Chairman HOYER. May I suggest that the microphone be moved closer so that both of you can speak into it, so we might hear, everybody here does not speak Estonian, as you might know.

TESTIMONY OF PRIME MINISTER EDGAR SAVISAAR OF ESTONIA

Prime Minister SAVISAAR. I am honored to be able to testify before this Commission, as I'm sure that the United States can take much of the credit for the present CSCE spirit.

The influence of the U.S. Congress and the U.S. administration has prevented the CSCE from being turned into a Soviet propaganda tool.

Estonian-Soviet relations are at an impasse. The Soviet Union has consistently refused to commence serious negotiations with Estonia. The Estonian side believes that real negotiations will only be possible if and when a decision is reached by the Soviet Union at the highest level to initiate negotiations between the Republic of Estonia and the U.S.S.R. as equal partners with the aim of restoring Estonian independence. I am fully convinced that only through active encouragement by Western nations will the Soviet Government be convinced to approach the negotiating table.

Unfortunately, a large part of Western economic aid to the Soviet Union has, in fact, helped the Soviet military machine continue to function. Structural change is not being implemented.

Estonian experts believe that aid to the Soviet Union could be much more effective if channeled into areas with promise of a future, to private enterprise, to alternative, non-ideological systems of schooling, to governments of different republics and municipalities.

Moreover, in a situation where the Soviet Union continues its imperialist policies in the Baltic States, it is unlikely that economic aid will be used productively. We believe that it would be logical for economic aid to the Soviet Union to be made contingent on the commencement of real negotiations between the Baltic States and the Soviet Government on the question of restoring the independence of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania.

At the same time, we believe that humanitarian aid should reach the people who have become victims of the inefficient Soviet economic system.

Allow me to emphasize again that the Baltic issue is an international issue. Our attempts to participate in the Helsinki process, and to organized an international conference on the Baltic question should be understood in this context.

The difficult situation in which you have been placed by history forces us to apply initially for observer status in the Helsinki process, for which I am pleased to say the United States has given its support.

By agreeing not to block the Baltic States' request to join the CSCE, the Soviet Union could show that it respects the Baltic States' special status, and that it intends to rapidly and peacefully resolve the Baltic question.

Our means to further internationalize the Baltic question, and bring closer its resolution, would be a conference on this issue, organized by Western parliamentarians. The first part of the conference could be devoted to the serious human rights violations which have been committed by the Soviet Union in the Baltic States since 1940.

The second part should include discussions on the practical problems of Baltic independence, including the security interests of the countries involved. In these questions, it will be especially difficult for bilateral agreements to be reached between the Soviet Union and the Baltic States. The reduction and withdrawal of Soviet forces we believe are possible only within the framework of the all European disarmament process.

I sincerely hope that the U.S. Congress and the administration, institutions which have so strongly committed themselves to the promotion of democracy and freedom all over the world, will support the further internationalization of the Baltic question, our only possibility to break the present impasse in our relations with the Soviet Union and, thereby, to continue on the road to having a true democracy in our country.

Thank you for your attention.

Chairman HOYER. Thank you very much, Mr. Savisaar. We appreciate that statement, and now I'd like to recognize the Prime Minister of Latvia, Mr. Godmanis.

TESTIMONY OF PRIME MINISTER IVARS GODMANIS OF LATVIA

Prime Minister GODMANIS. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, and members of the Congress, ladies and gentleman.

It's easier for me to speak after my brothers in arms, Mr. Landsbergis and Mr. Savisaar.

I should add only some facts. After the bloody events of Lithuania, the same bloody events have taken place also in Latvia.

I should mention only one thing, that common people have come to the capital, to the city of Riga, to defend the Government, defend the parliament, to defend the television and radio, to defend the telephone center and so on, commercial vehicles with their strong tracks, with their heavy equipment have come to defend their own Government.

It's not so easy to understand this for the people who are coming are doing so after the price reforms in Latvia, and we have raised prices for the food production six times higher than before.

It means that our people are staying absolutely in support of an independent country. There's no question about it. And, I think the results of the 3rd of May opinion poll have shown that directly to Moscow and the whole world.

But, I should say some words about the current situation. I think probably, Mr. Chairman, and ladies and gentlemen, that we are caught in a situation that we have no time. Exactly after the statement of the ninth, which had been written by Gorbachev, Yeltsin and other chairmen of the different Soviet Republics, and which had said that they are supporting the rights of others to choose freely, to join themselves or not to join themselves to the new state treaty.

For us, it's very necessary to show to the whole world that it's not only a tactical, but a real document, and it's a first, very small step in the direction which allows us small republics, states and, we were and we are, states, and we never joined the Soviet Union, it's not a question about secession or something else, and for the United States, the greatest democratic country, and the European States also it is very necessary to hold those people, I mean, President Gorbachev and others, on their word, that it is not permissible to say some word in one direction and then after to do another action in the opposite direction.

I think that this statement is the beginning of reconstruction of the Soviet Union, but it's not our problem, because we are not going to destroy the Soviet Union, we are not going to make deep changes in the Soviet Union and, nevertheless, we supported democratic forces inside the Soviet Union. But, our problem is our problem, and due to this I can only add myself to the statement of Mr. Savisaar, that now it's time for the international conference for the Baltic question.

And, I think everybody understands that only if the United States will support this idea, that the Baltic conference, exactly I mean when the parliamentarians from the different countries will take part in this conference, and show to the whole people that the Baltic question is an active issue, is an original issue, and it should be so discussed internationally. That's the first thing.

The second, I think that, while I have to say that we have no long-time concerns, there is some message, there should be some message used by the Soviet Government to pressure us. It could be the use of so-called "creeping economical blockade," not openly, but through some financial pressure, financial pressure on us, to put us in a situation where our borders from the West are closed by brutal force, the Eastern borders are economically closed, and then we will be totally isolated.

And, I think that one idea is for Moscow to isolate us, and to support the colonies, and to support those forces from the inside, to make some revolt, to make some coup in the Baltic States.

And, again it will be under the pretext of the peoples' rights, it's quite clear, and I think we will do our best to show you and to give you information that something is happening in this direction.

And, my opinion is that time is very short for us, and we urge you, in any way, to support us, and I think that the policy to expand support of our Governments, it means to expand the de facto recognition of our Governments, because we are really democratically elected, and the parliaments and the Governments are democratically elected, and I think that we have—we can't see any drastic reasons why this process of recognition, and I think this process is still going on, have been stopped, and I think that our way is democratic, parliamentarian way, it's a unique way, as you know. The process, as in other parts in the world, has shown that it's not easy to fulfill our aim to be independent, by using only parliamentarian, only democratic methods, but we will stay in our position, and we will ask you to support us in this way.

Thank you.

Chairman HOYER. Thank you very much, Mr. Prime Minister. I appreciate your testimony as well, as I know the members of the Commission do, and I would again reiterate how impressed we were in our meeting with you in Riga.

Let me start the questioning with something that Mr. Godmanis tangentially referred to. All of you, when we met with you in February, indicated that you thought that Mr. Yeltsin had played a significant role in skimming the resort to violence in Lithuania and Latvia, and, perhaps, precluding it in Estonia. He came out early and he came out very courageously against the use of violence and against what he characterized as "unconstitutional behavior."

Recently there has been some degree of rapprochement between Mr. Yeltsin and Mr. Gorbachev. I would like to hear from each of you what, if any, impact that has had short term, that is, that you have seen, and the impact that it might have in the future.

Mr. President?

President LANDSBERGIS. Thank you.

I prefer Lithuanian.

A document which has been signed by 10 leaders has certain contradictions. In that document, it says that six republics have the right to choose their own path freely.

But, the document also says that very strict measures need to be applied in all of the Soviet territory. In our view, we are not part of Soviet territory, but those leaders are the ones who wrote that document, and, thus, those words are dangerous.

On the other hand, we do want to believe that it is a turning point in Soviet history, and we hope that the future Soviet Union, or confederation, or whatever it turns out to be, is based on a free choice.

And, the fact that in the state leadership of the Soviet Union there are two forces at play, balancing one against the other, that gives us some hope.

I would also like to make the comment that many Soviet documents have as their object the desire to deceive. Such a mistake would be made if one were to think of six Soviet Republics which wish to leave the Soviet Union.

As you well know, there are actually three occupied states and three other republics, among which Georgia has already declared its independence.

Thus, we hope we will not be considered to be one among six equal Soviet Republics.

Chairman HOYER. Before I recognize Mr. Savisaar and Mr. Godmanis for a response to the same question, let me recognize, if I might, the Co-Chairman of the Commission, who has been such an outstanding spokesperson on behalf of self-determination and on behalf of Helsinki Final Act principles, Senator DeConcini from Arizona.

Co-Chairman DECONCINI. Mr. Chairman, I apologize for my not being here, and I will just submit a statement. I don't want to take time away from our distinguished guests. We welcome them.

I hope they understand and realize how committed we are to their efforts for independence and recognition, and, certainly, this Senator will continue to do everything he can with this Commission to see that come to fruition.

Thank you.

Chairman HOYER. Thank you, Senator.

Mr. Godmanis?

Prime Minister GODMANIS. I'll try to answer very shortly. My answer is, Mr. Yeltsin has done a good job to prevent carte blanche violence in the Baltic States, I hope so. During the strongest events in Latvia, Mr. Yeltsin came to Estonia and then we passed some treaties between Estonia, Russia and Russia and Latvia and Lithuania.

The problem is that our treaties, I mean treaties between the Latvia and Russia, and as I understand also the treaty between the Lithuania and Russia and Estonia and Russia, is still not ratified by the Russian Government—by Russian parliament.

Our parliament, Latvian parliament, has ratified this treaty, and we have to do our best to ensure that this treaty will be ratified also by the Russian parliament. We sent our parliamentarians to explain how the situation is going on, and it's very necessary for us because, we have two ways, two possibilities. The first one is to put the negotiations with the so-called center, I should say, the Soviet Government, on the highest level, to speak directly with Gorbachev about independence, not on the level which is, for example, that the Chairman—the Deputy Prime Minister and so on, that's the first.

The second is that we have to do our best to start direct negotiationswith Russia and with other strong members of this nine, because practically it depends also what other nine republics will say.

And, I should say that by creating relations with Russia, by exactly Russia, you are in a strong position in dealing with the future exactly after the Presidential election of the 12th of June, and I'm absolutely sure that Mr. Yeltsin will be the Russian President, and our idea is that, until this time, or shortly after, to achieve that the Russian parliament will ratify the treaty with Latvia, and I think also with—that's the idea, I think, with Lithuania and Estonia, and it means that it will be a strong support, a strong real support, and that we have moved one step forward in our relations with the East.

This is my idea, how we can use our policy with Mr. Yeltsin with the Russians.

Chairman HOYER. Thank you.

Mr. Savisaar?

Prime Minister SAVISAAR. Mr. Chairman, members of the Commission, I think that the nine republics statement came as a surprise to quite a few people, because people expected that there would be a shift to the right by Mr. Gorbachev, but what we had instead was a move to the left, so to say.

We put certain hopes on that statement, but we do not over stress its importance, and I'm going to give the reason. First, it was a follow through, because conservatives had been beaten in Russian elections. In the making was the purpose of the birth of an inter-republican parliamentary democratic movement that could have led to the strengthening of democracy.

And, from that, the President of the Soviet Union evidently drew the conclusion that the conservatives are not quite as strong as they were believed to be.

Secondly, we view the signing of that statement as a tactical move on the eve of the Presidential elections in Russia on the 12th of June.

So, we don't exclude the possibility that after the elections, contradictions between the two Presidents will deepen, because besides a President who has been appointed, there is going to be a President who has been elected.

Thirdly, I would like to point out the fact that the statement is not quite as hurtful from the point of the view of the Baltic States as it might seem.

This is no government decree, it is no law passed by the parliament, it is not even a decree passed by the President. It is merely a political declaration.

Also, concerning that particular paragraph where the right of the non-signatories is mentioned, that paragraph, it serves to say, has been signed early by the leaders of the nine republics, but not Mr. Gorbachev, because that is evident from the wording.

If the document said that their President Gorbachev and the leaders of the nine republics recognized the right of the republics and three others to join the union treaty or not, then it would be a different story. But, at present, it only says that the leaders of the nine republics recognize that right.

The President, in fact, has been repeating over the past few weeks more and more often that he believes the Baltic States eventually will still join the Soviet Union.

So, in our view, what has changed is not the essence of what Mr. Gorbachev believes in, it's just the form in which it is worded.

Chairman HOYER. Thank you very much.

At this time, I'd like to recognize Senator D'Amato.

Senator D'AMATO. Mr. Chairman, I'm just going to make one observation, and I'm wondering if our distinguished representatives of the Baltic States care to make a comment.

It seems to me that the United States has been absolutely derelict, lamentably, and has drawn back on a commitment that it made, at least to a number of the members of this Commission, that it was going to set up U.S. information centers, or at least one center in the Baltics.

Have any of you, or any of your Governments, been approached and apprised of those information centers being established? How

important do you think the establishment of an information center or centers in the Baltics would be?

Chairman HOYER. Mr. President?

President LANDSBERGIS. I raised this issue when I visited the United States a couple of years ago, and I raised this issue with various American organizations, and I'm gratified to hear now that this issue has been discussed in administration circles.

The life has taught us to evaluate more highly events and facts, not just talk. We would be most interested in having such a center established in Vilnius, and we await the day when that will became a reality.

Chairman HOYER. Prime Minister Savisaar?

Prime Minister SAVISAAR. We, too, would be interested in having such a center, and we would view the establishment of such a center as a part of the recognition process.

We consider it very important that the U.S. presence in the Baltic region would increase. That would help create a shield to protect our democratically elected parliaments and the Governments that have been formed by those parliaments.

Chairman HOYER. Thank you.

Prime Minister Godmanis?

Prime Minister GODMANIS. I should say that the most valuable thing in the world is direct objective information, and because of this, the establishment of U.S. information centers is a very necessary thing. And, our experience is that the Swedes already have done so, and other countries are starting to do it, it's very necessary to us, exactly when I speak about the United States.

And, I think our way to independence will be a gradual way, and within a short time those centers should play also a fundamental role in establishing embassies in Baltic States.

We agree very much with this.

Chairman HOYER. Thank you.

Senator D'AMATO. Mr. Chairman, let me thank you, let me thank the witnesses. I have a Defense Appropriations Committee hearing that I'm going to have to go to, but I look forward to see our dignitaries later on into the evening.

[Senator D'Amato leaves.]

Chairman HOYER. Thank you, Senator. I would say that most members of the Commission are co-sponsors of legislation calling for that. In the Senate, Senator DeConcini has got legislation on it as well. This is in addition to the legislation of Rep. Ritter and Senators Riegle and D'Amato's legislation.

I might also make a comment on the observer status that Mr. Savisaar said had been enthusiastically embraced.

The administration's position, as I understand it, is that they would support—hopefully they're going to propose that observer status.

And I might say, as you may have heard, I spoke at the formation of the CSCE parliamentary assembly in Madrid and in the course of my remarks indicated that, at the very minimum, observer status looking towards full membership in the CSCE ought to be discussed, debated and become a reality with respect to that parliamentary assembly and CSCE in general.

Senator DeConcini?

Co-Chairman DECONCINI. Mr. Chairman, thank you very much.

Mr. President and Mr. Prime Minister, let me ask you this question. Congress may debate whether or not to grant agricultural credits to the Soviet Union. Some of us oppose that because of the continued abuse of human rights and non-compliance with the Helsinki Final Act. Yet the argument is made that if these agricultural credits are not extended to the Soviet Union, then Mr. Gorbachev will perhaps be replaced and the economy will get worse and, in fact, things will be worse in the Baltics and the Soviet Republics that are seeking independence.

Please comment on what you think would be best: whether or not the United States should continue to press the human rights issues with Mr. Gorbachev as well as to hold back from special trade arrangements until some changes are made, particularly in relation to your republics.

Perhaps President Landsbergis could start.

President LANDSBERGIS. I think the policy which you have described would be the correct one, because we know through the past that's the only policy that brings results.

The argument that American economic assistance should be provided to help Mr. Gorbachev survive would raise the question of who you are actually giving this aid to.

In reality the Soviet leadership may be doing something else. It may be using President Gorbachev in order to get this assistance.

Only demands from your side for democratization and the respect for human rights in the Soviet Union would make it clear who actually constitutes the Government of the Soviet Union—who's in control.

Otherwise, the United States may end up being deceived.

Chairman HOYER. Mr. Godmanis?

Prime Minister GODMANIS. No. My opinion is that we are in the situation—I mean the Baltic States and Latvia exactly—we are, Latvia, in a special situation—that we have passed down the law of land reform and I think we'd be the first who would try to establish a private farming system in Latvia to change the collectivizations, all those collective farms and so on.

So it's a very heavy process for us, because one form of production is changing to another one and I have fears that we will encounter some problems in this process.

During the last years, exactly also this year, we have an economical treaty with the Soviets. We have signed economical treaty and we have changed our meat and milk to the grain with the Soviets.

This grain is important grain, as you know. This grain is necessary for us to feed our livestock and selves. Especially at that moment at which we are in the position that we have changed to the private farm policies. It's not so easy. It's the first time after 50 years. For us this grain is very necessary. But I think that there should be another opportunity which is more adaptable for us. If we can get some direct support, I mean credit, specific credit, or direct support when we are speaking about the grain or some help in agricultural techniques, which is very badly necessary for our farmers and then it will be absolutely clear for us that this, your support, would directly go in the right direction. Because, as you know, when we get direct support in agricultural products, then we

will produce and some parts we will sell to the East and also to the Soviet Union.

It will be also acceptable for the Soviet Union.

And due to this, I will change—perhaps I will change my answer to say it will be very necessary if the support will be absolutely direct.

Co-Chairman DECONCINI. Excuse me, Mr. Prime Minister. If I understand you correctly, if the agricultural credits resulted in direct assistance to, say, your Republic, it would be good.

Prime Minister GODMANIS. Yes.

Co-Chairman DECONCINI. And if that is not the assurance——

Prime Minister GODMANIS. It's not that we have no assurance that this will be distributed. We are sure that we will fulfill our treaty with the Soviet Union to sell, but we are not absolutely sure this treaty will be fulfilled from the other side.

Co-Chairman DECONCINI. And agricultural credits won't guarantee that unless we make it conditional?

Prime Minister GODMANIS. Yes, that's right. That's right.

Chairman HOYER. Mr. Savisaar?

Prime Minister SAVISAAR. Honorable Senator DeConcini, when I met you in Tallinn, I remember telling you that the Soviet Union cannot be saved as a whole but only when separate parts of the Soviet Union are approached at a time. And meanwhile I become convinced in this more than ever. The highly centralized hierarchical system in the Soviet Union has shown that you can put as much aid into it as is possible but it all gets lost.

Moreover, the central government does everything it can in order to make the Soviet Republics dependent on it. So, we are of the opinion that aid to the Soviet Union should be made contingent on changing attitudes on the part of the Soviet Union towards the Baltic States.

At the present time, for instance, we haven't even been able to define with the Soviets the objects of our, so to say, negotiations with them.

The Soviet side says that what is being negotiated is a broad complex of political, social and economic issues.

If, however, the Soviet Union were to recognize that these are negotiations concerning the restoration of our independence and putting an end to the occupation; then that would indicate a change in Soviet policies.

The Soviet Union has for some time been seeking the restoration of the, of the introduction of the most-favored-nation principle in economic relations with the United States. If that were to be true of the United States, then we, on the other hand, would seek the renovation of the most-favored-nation status we had with the United States beginning with 1925.

Co-Chairman DECONCINI. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Thank you.

Chairman HOYER. Mr. Smith?

Mr. SMITH. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. President, your staff passed out a Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania appeal to the U.N. General Assembly, and to the Secretary General in particular, to undertake an investigation of the January killings and also to include, as part of the upcoming

plenary session of the United Nations, a discussion of the Baltics independence questions.

Have you heard back from the Secretary General de Cuellar as to his thoughts on this? What kind of correspondence have you or Prime Minister Godmanis or Mr. Savisaar had with the United Nations?

In addition, just add one other thing. Both today and when we met with you in January, you very strongly criticized the Soviets for kidnapping young men and conscripting them into the army. Kidnapping was the word you used in February.

I was wondering if the other two nations were having that same problem?

President LANDSBERGIS. We received no reply from the United Nations, and it's not the first time that the United Nations is deaf to the appeals of the Baltic people.

I remember not too long ago when 2 million Baltic people linked hands in the Baltic Way, stretching from Tallinn to Vilnius, and that was followed by threats by the Soviet Government against the Baltic peoples' threats which continue to this day.

I remember at the time, the organizers of the Baltic Way, the free popular front movements, appealed to the United Nations to defend the rights of small nations. We did not receive a reply to our appeal then.

Thus, we are not surprised that the United Nations does not respond to our appeals.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Godmanis?

Prime Minister GODMANIS. You know, sometimes it's a good question, not only for us, ourselves, but also for, perhaps, the people who are living in different countries, what kind of evidence we have to show to all the people, including the United Nations, that our way is the right way, and that all the people, Latvian people, for example, really want independence. The question is about degree of sacrifices, numbers of victims and so on.

I really don't understand, I think in our times, in our times, when the cost of life, of people's life is higher, higher and higher, I think that those bloody events in Lithuania and in the Latvia, those barricades, and the people which come also in Estonia to defend their Governments at the barricades, the people who are living on the streets for defense, during the days, during the night, without weapons, and those victims, exactly the journalists, the journalists have been killed. It means that enemies are trying to kill the right to information, the fundamental right of the people.

I think—sometimes I am asked this question, what kind of evidence do we have to show that in the future the people will really want to be independent? This is a question also to the Perez de Cuellar.

Chairman HOYER. Thank you.

Mr. Savisaar?

Prime Minister SAVISAAR. Mr. Chairman, allow me first of all to say that I share the conviction of Mr. Landsbergis, that the bloody events in January should be—the investigation of those bloody events should take place at an international level.

These investigations should lead to punishment of those people.

Concerning our relations to, say, the United Nations, the most recent, most important document we have addressed to the United Nations was an address signed by the leaders of the three Baltic States by Mr. Yeltsin in January. Regrettably, there has been no answer.

As concerns your question about the possible conscription of men into the Soviet Army, in a present interference case we have the threats to do this. This has been used, the means of putting psychological pressure on the people, and, of course, this Damocles Sword is still hanging over our head.

Yet, I think Moscow has learned something from what happened in January, and, thus, perhaps, it is more thanks than tanks that are going to put a threat against this intrusion.

Mr. SMITH. One additional question which is on the same ground. How do you interpret the appointment of Colonel Koncherinko to the Moscow's police representative in Riga?

Prime Minister GODMANIS. Yes. This man, Koncherinko, who was the Deputy of the Chairman of one staff of the city of Riga militia police force, now has a new post, a new position, and he is now the coordinator of the special militia units in the Baltics, coordinator. It means this idea of coordination of those by us called, in our country it's called "omon," coordination of those omon in the whole Baltics is very dangerous, because, first, Estonians do not have their own omons, they have not formed such units before. This coordination should be understood in such a way that some divisions of those internal forces, of those units who are very specially trained to be sent to the different regions of Baltics is a first priority.

The second, as I know, through my information, is that there are some plans to make them—the number of those people make them larger, to make this number more than 120, as we have 600. And also in Lithuania. It means, you know, there are two different things to use armed forces directly to remove the Government or to remove a parliament. It's not so easy, because there's armed forces.

On the other hand, if you are using those internal militia forces, which are not so—which are in a different status, and this, I know Koncherinko personally, I know his opinions are absolutely anti-Baltic and absolutely he is of the position that the Government and the parliaments should be ruled by force, and it makes for me a very strong impression.

But, you know, sometimes I'm so struck that people are very different, one thinking what he's saying, the others seeing what he's doing.

Chairman HOYER. Mr. Cardin?

Mr. CARDIN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I was impressed during my brief visit to your countries with the credibility of your approach to negotiations with the Soviet Union concerning security, military, and economic issues.

I think we brought that message to the Soviets when we visited their country immediately following your meetings. We met with Mr. Nishanon, and, in those meetings, didn't get very far at all. As far as trying to encourage direct talks between your countries and the Soviet Union, our efforts must continue.

I pose to you the question: How can the United States be most helpful in encouraging discussions between your leaders and the Soviets? What should be our highest priorities?

And, in responding, I would hope that you might discuss our role under CSCE. What could the United States do to help this process move forward?

Chairman HOYER. Mr. President?

President LANDSBERGIS. One of the most basic forms of support would be to refuse to sign any kinds of agreements, for example, on trade conceptions and so forth, with the Soviet Union, until they keep their promise to begin negotiations with our sides.

We would like to see the CSCE form the question of Baltic observer status, raised not just by the small Nordic countries, but also by the United States of America.

Prime Minister GODMANIS. My answer is first is to help the Baltic States to get on the agenda at the June conference in Berlin, CSCE conference, is a first.

As you remember the situation is, we have been thrown out from the Helsinki——

Chairman HOYER. That's a foreign ministers meeting.

Prime Minister GODMANIS. Yes.

As you remember the situation in which we were thrown out in Paris, the consequences were very bad. Sometimes radical forces have thought that if we were thrown out from that conference it would mean that they can now use every method they want, and it's very necessary not to allow the process to set a precedent. It's a very, very, very necessary thing for us also, I think.

Another question is, sometimes the negotiations are not negotiations, and sometimes misinformation, which could come here to the United States, will be such that the negotiations have all this talk about the independence.

I should add only two things. No negotiations have been started about independence between the Baltic States and the Soviet Union until now. These are only so-called, not real negotiations, but called consultations, and this misinformation which sometimes comes over the ocean can be corrected only through the direct information centers which the United States will establish within the Baltic States. Then you can tell what that information really means—this process between us and the Soviets.

And, a third point is that, anyway, the question about the independence of Baltics can be solved only on the highest level between the President of the Soviet Union and the highest, the Presidents or the chairmen of the Baltic States, anyway, only on this highest level and not from a level which is lower.

At that point, it will be not the real negotiations, it would be only some so-called not real negotiations.

Senator D'AMATO. A gimmick.

Chairman HOYER. Mr. Savisaar?

Prime Minister SAVISAAR. I believe that it is only when the Soviet Union understands that it is going to find itself in an international isolation concerning the Baltic question, only then will its position change.

So far, the Soviet Union does not understand this. I have no doubt whatsoever that the United States, together with its allies, can achieve a change in the Soviet attitude.

Chairman HOYER. Did Mr. Savisaar want to make a comment on the CSCE involvement? If I may add to Mr. Cardin's question, whether at the Krakow meeting one or more of you will be requesting, suggesting observer status, and in Paris as well, as has been mentioned by Mr. Godmanis?

Prime Minister SAVISAAR. As I said in my statement, we viewed the observer status in the CSCE necessarily as a step towards full membership to what you would want.

We might consider that the observers have the upcoming track of cultural heritage, but that, of course, is not a major event. We also want to have that observer status in Berlin and in all subsequent CSCE meetings.

Chairman HOYER. Thank you.

Mr. President?

President LANDSBERGIS. I want to give you a concrete answer to your question, that is that the Lithuanian Foreign Minister applied to the Polish Foreign Minister asking for observer status. So far, we haven't received a reply, and maybe that only Lithuanian artists will be participating in the Krakow conference.

As for the Berlin conference, the three Baltic Foreign Ministers signed a statement appealing for observer status, and we would hope that one major country, at least, will support that.

That appeal was dated April 30 of this year, and it's addressed to all members of the CSCE process.

Chairman HOYER. Thank you.

Mr. Ritter?

Mr. RITTER. Thanks, Mr. Chairman, and I truly apologize to you, my colleagues, and to the distinguished witnesses. This is that kind of day where each of my several ranking memberships have a meeting at the same time. So, again, I apologize for not being here.

Chairman HOYER. We're glad to have you back.

Mr. RITTER. Thank you, and, Mr. Chairman, I am glad to be back.

I would like to just focus a little bit on the question of de facto recognition as embodied by H.R. 142, which I might add was introduced just recently by Senator Riegle in the U.S. Senate.

Some in the Government and experts in the field would say that if the United States went forward with a defined process of de facto recognition, it could weaken Mikail Gorbachev's position, vis-a-vis the hard liners in the military and in the KGB.

And, I think this seems to be what is restraining the administration, and I'm very thankful for this. Certain steps forward are being taken, like the meeting with President Landsbergis, and two Prime Ministers, occurring at the White House tomorrow.

But, can you comment on what the impact of our de facto recognition process would be on stability in the Soviet Union?

President LANDSBERGIS. Our battle, our efforts are directed to returning stability to the Baltic region, which was violated by Hitler and Stalin in 1939.

Stability in Europe should be more important, a more important goal, than stability for an empire.

I think one should encourage changes in the Soviet Empire, and not so-called "stability." We have suffered from that stability for 50 years.

Now, as to the question of recognition, whatever form it should take, recognition of Lithuania, as to the question of whether it would somehow hurt President Gorbachev's position, our view is a contrary one.

We believe that such recognition would enable President Gorbachev to remain in the Centrist Reformist forces, rather than being pushed in the direction of the right wingers and becoming a puppet leader.

And, we think that this argument which Congressman Ritter has laid out is part of a continual process to deceive the West, to sabotage, no, as blackmailing.

Mr. RITTER. I just want to add, as a disclaimer this is not my argument. I'm just laying it out so that we can put it on the table, deal with it openly, and perhaps progress beyond it.

Prime Minister GODMANIS. Let me say some words. If you are speaking about the stability, I can understand your question, the stability of the relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. How can the processes of the de facto recognition of the Governments or the parliaments of Baltic States have impact on this relations?

What can I say? Three things. First, the Soviet Union now is in the process of reconstruction. It's very hard to say, whether I'm optimistic or not so.

But, I should say that when we are looking in the process of relations between Finland and the Soviet Union, through 40 years those relations are quite normal. Nevertheless, before Finland was a part of the Soviet—not the Soviet, but of the Russian Empire, now I think it will be time to get our independence back.

We have our economical relations with the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, will it be nine republics together, or eight, or five, it's very hard to say how many will there be and who will sign the state treaty.

If we do not get our independence back, then the instability will come out from our region because in the minds of the people, it's not a question that only concerns some leaders of popular movements or popular fronts, as we are and we were, or the members or the leaders of government of the parliament. It is not only a few people who, obviously, are thinking about independence.

Now, it's a question of quality. If all the people, the whole people, each common people thinking about independence, and independence in many ways, in humanitarian, in political, in economical and so on, and I think so that it will be this way—the process will be more stable if we get our status back, if we get the separation, and I am just talking about expansion the process of de facto recognition.

And, D'Amato said about the formation of safety and further steps and so on, and I think this gradual process of change should be stable, and I think it will be a more stable situation if we get our status back, and in the Soviet Union, it will be more stable if we get our normal economical relations with some republics who will build up the new Soviet Union. This is my answer.

Chairman HOYER. Prime Minister Savisaar?

Prime Minister SAVISAAR. De facto recognition would be one element in the resolution of the problems.

The further the decision to do that is delayed, the more problems there are. And also, Mr. Gorbachev's positions are appearing to grow weaker and weaker, and eventually that might lead to a situation where Mr. Gorbachev is simply buried under this huge pile of problems he can't solve.

Also, I mean, we have de facto recognition, then that would reduce uncertainty in the Baltic region. It is this present prevailing uncertainty that feeds hope to the leadership of the Soviet Union that it can, perhaps, even make use of force in order to restore the situation we have before.

And, it is namely this hurt of the central government that is a source of instability.

Mr. RITTER. In H.R. 142, a Baltic bank for reconstruction and development is proposed. What are your thoughts about going forward with that concept, at least building the foundation of it for the present time? Are we ready to do this?

President LANDSBERGIS. When I read the resolution introduced by the Honorable Congressman Ritter before 200,000 people in Vilnius, point by point, every point that I made was accepted with the greatest enthusiasm by the crowd.

Chairman HOYER. If I may interrupt for just a moment. Mr. Bustamante has just come in from another hearing. He was with us on our visit to the Baltics, a very important member of our delegation, and we appreciate his attendance. I just wanted to recognize him.

Thank you. Mr. President, go ahead.

Mr. RITTER. I appreciate that. I think it's a realistic approach, as well as it is, we worked on this, for 4 months. We started on it prior to our delegation's trip to the Baltics. Attorney Bill Hough, who is the recognized American expert on legal matters referring to the Baltic States, was a key advisor in this process.

Chairman HOYER. Mr. Savisaar, did you want to comment on that?

Mr. RITTER. Wait a second. The translation has not yet been given to President Landsbergis.

President LANDSBERGIS. I would like to add, though, when we found out that a European bank for reconstruction and development for central Europe was being formed, we considered ways how we could be part of that. We wanted to be included as part of central Europe.

But, now that we have the news that a special Baltic bank for reconstruction and development may be formed, we think that might even be a better way.

Chairman HOYER. Mr. Savisaar.

Prime Minister SAVISAAR. I'm very sorry to hear this most important question so late in our discussions here. And, I think that because, I think ahead of us, ahead in the relations between the Baltic States and the Soviet Union are completely new dangers than that we had in January.

We could find ourselves in a situation where we are between two closed doors. Before the Western door stands an armed sort of soldier, and also the Eastern door will be closed for us.

And, the Soviet central government would hope that, because we couldn't open the door to the West, then eventually we would be forced to knock on the Eastern door.

We may find ourselves in a situation where strong economic pressure will be put on us, and you are using methods that wouldn't necessarily be visible from outside. And, this makes it imperative now that we step up our economic contacts and relations with the West.

I don't know if this comparison is proper here or not, but I think the Baltic States need a Marshall plan of its own, because we lack the kind of strong Western neighbor as East Germany has.

So, I would view the creation of such a Baltic bank as a first major step towards the kind of cooperation we need.

Chairman HOYER. Mr. Godmanis?

Prime Minister GODMANIS. I can only add, I appreciate your question, and I appreciate your attitude, because we both are doing two things simultaneously.

We are fighting for our independence, this political struggle, and simultaneously we are changing our economical system from the Socialist to the normal economical system.

And, those two tasks, which we have to do simultaneously, are really complicated for us, and I appreciate that if there was some opportunity to establish a Baltic bank, a support bank, it will be very useful for us, it will help us in many ways.

Mr. RITTER. I'd like to thank you gentlemen, and close with the point that this kind of situation should be very viable for the reconstruction of the Soviet Union. Why? Because the Baltics are the doors to the West. If the Soviet Union, indeed, wants to reconstruct in any kind of positive fashion, it really has to come in through the West, it has to come in through the Baltics.

And so, the service of your cause is the reformulation of the Soviet Union, which is in the service of world peace. I fear that this current attitude of economic cutoff from the East by the Soviet central power, the posting of guards on the western frontiers, will provide a kind of deteriorating status quo to the Baltic States, a kind of slow squeeze to the point of a demolition or totally dulling of what is really the cutting edge of the democratic movement in that part of the world.

Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Chairman HOYER. Thank you.

Mr. Durbin?

Mr. DURBIN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I'd like to return to the question of agricultural assistance, because I want to clarify this in my own mind.

We may face, in the near future, a vote on a question as to whether or not we should approve some type of agreement or arrangement with the Soviet Union for the sale of agricultural products.

I come from the midwestern part of the United States, which is blessed with very rich farm land. We have traditionally held the position that we would not use food as a weapon when it comes to our dealings with other nations.

I believe the statement by Prime Minister Godmanis earlier about the fair distribution of agricultural commodities, is one which everyone would agree on, the administration and Congress.

Let us assume for a moment that any agreement with the Soviet Union, if one does occur, would include fair distribution of the agricultural products within the Soviet Union, and, certainly, to the Baltic nations.

But, the question—the two questions which I'd like to pose to you, first, by way of the premise of this, do the leaders here with us today from the Baltic nations feel that there is a serious food or feed grain shortage in their own nations, or in the Soviet Union?

And, second, if we are to consider agricultural assistance to the Soviet Union, is it the position of these three leaders that we should condition, in agricultural assistance, on concessions—political concessions by Moscow, agreeing to negotiate with the Baltic nations toward independence?

President LANDSBERGIS. We feel the shortage of feed grain in Lithuania, and we continually hear threats and blackmail by the Soviets that they are going to cutoff this feed grain and cause the collapse of our economy.

From that, you can see that the United States, by refusing to use food as a weapon, hands over that weapon to another.

If the United States were to decide to give credits directly to the Baltic States. and directly to the Soviet Republics, that would be a completely different question, and that would be looking toward the future, not looking towards the past.

If you are going to consider and debate providing agricultural credits directly to the central Soviet Government, we would like you to do that only after the Soviet Union changes its attitude toward the independence of the Baltic States.

During our most recent consultations with the Soviet delegation, they refused to agree to sign a statement renouncing the use of force against us.

And, in this situation, extending assistance to this kind of government, may be understood by the Soviet Government as encouragement to continue its policies, and to use violence.

Chairman HOYER. Mr. Savisaar?

Prime Minister SAVISAAR. We wouldn't really view food aid to the Soviet Union as a weapon, while demanding that the Soviet Union should change its attitude to the Baltic States.

Rather, we take the view that bribing the Soviet Union with some kind of aid should be linked to some political conditions. And, I would like to reemphasize that when granting aid, it should not go to the central government, but rather to different republics.

Otherwise, it could happen that the central government would seek to strengthen its influence on the different republics using that food.

Prime Minister GODMANIS. My opinion is first, it's a question of violence, one should very carefully look how the situation is changing in the Baltics. The first, I think, circumstance, which is very necessary to understand, is that we have to have a guarantee that there will not be a use of violence to overthrow our Government or parliaments, this is the first point.

If such happened, there are no such guarantees, it's very hard to deal with trade with the Soviet Union, because it's quite normal, this is my opinion.

Second, I am absolutely against using food as a weapon. My information is that in some regions in the Soviet Union there are shortages of food, the food of grain. It's a long history to explain why this is, because the harvest was not bad, the last one in the Soviet Union, but it's a long history, I have no time to explain. I know why it is, but there's no time for me to explain.

But, one thing which I should add, the first is, if the violence happens, then I think every form of trade should be stopped. The second is, I am not against grain being sold to the Soviet Union, but my question is whether it will be for us, not only for us, be useful if some part of support will be direct to the Baltic States.

And, perhaps, as I know the position with the Russian Federation, that they are doing their best to get direct economic ties to get this support directly, because this bureaucracy which has been developed for 70 years, does not allow really for the use of this help actively for all the different people. This is my answer.

Mr. DURBIN. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I might add that in our visit, this group's visit with Mr. Yeltsin, he made that same point about direct assistance to the Russian Republic.

Thank you.

Chairman HOYER. Thank you.

I'm going to recognize Mr. Hertel and Mr. Sarpalius, but before I do, let me recognize Senator Lautenberg to make a brief statement.

Senator LAUTENBERG. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, and thank you, my colleagues, for permitting me to jump in here. I apologize for not having been here sooner, nor being able to stay.

But, I did want to greet our distinguished visitors, and to tell them that, though I speak for myself, I think I represent the view of so many in the U.S. Senate that see Soviet depression back in vogue again, if that's a proper term, to see what took place just now in January, to see troops once again employed is a very disturbing matter for us.

And, we are going to make sure that however possible, we are going to remember the courageous stand that you and the people in your respective nations took, and that we'll be calling upon the Soviet Union, upon Mr. Gorbachev, to respect the human rights of the individuals who inhabit these nations, and to consider the votes that have been taken time, after time, after time, to say that they want their independence, that they demand to be able to function in their own language in their own culture, and that we expect that there be cooperation there.

It's very disconcerting to see, after a period of time in which liberation looked like it was going to be the pattern to see these steps backward, and, once again, to see the Soviet military enforcing a policy that is obviously contrary to the best wishes of the people in the community.

So, I welcome you here. Once again, I apologize for not having been able to spend more time with you.

I would like to ask, if it's possible, through your legations here in this country, that some questions that we might submit might get a

written response, because we don't have the time today to ask the questions.

So, again, congratulations. Keep up the courage, and keep up the fight, you have many, many friends here.

Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman, thank you, colleagues, for the opportunity.

Chairman HOYER. Thank you, Senator Lautenberg. I might say that Senator Lautenberg is a very active member of the Commission. We have many Members who have attended today's hearing who are not members of the Commission, but who are very active in its work.

Next, I will recognize Mr. Hertel, although not a member of the Commission—he has been very active in support of our efforts.

Mr. HERTEL. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

I think, as you know, I'm Co-Chairman of the Caucus on the Baltic States, and that title will be changed this month to the Caucus on the Baltic Nations.

I know you have a busy schedule today, and, therefore, I'm not going to ask questions, because you've been so kind to spend this time and you've answered so many of our questions already so very frankly, that it's been a great help to us.

I might just add that those watching this hearing, those that are present here at this hearing, they contact their Congressmen, and be included in the earlier resolution which was introduced on behalf of the majority of the Helsinki Commission members.

And, I think Chairman Hoyer might, at this point, elaborate on this resolution, so that the members will be aware and the public will be more aware, so that those of us who are very concerned about the plight of their countries will be able to co-sponsor that resolution by contacting their Congressmen.

Chairman HOYER. I will do that right after I give Mr. Sarpalius the opportunity to question our guests.

Mr. SARPALIUS. Thank you.

Mr. Chairman, I have a concern that I felt when I was in the Baltic States that is growing very rapidly, and I guess probably the best way to express that is an experience that I shared leaving the parliament building, after the meeting we had with you, President Landsbergis, in Lithuania.

As I was leaving the parliament building, if you recall, it was snowing that day, it was cold, and we went into the yard where the walls surrounding the parliament building are, and I had a young man walking with me, and I asked this young man, "How do you intend to hold back the Soviet Army if they decide to take over this parliament building?"

And, he told me, "Oh, we have some rocks, we have some hunting rifles," and I told him that he was talking about, the second largest army in the world, an army that could blow this building up in the blink of an eye. He turned to me and he said, "Oh, but, Mr. Congressman, today we are free people, we will live as free people, or we will die as free people."

And, it struck me that the spark for freedom and independence is very strong in the Baltic States, and that it's like a spark that is spread to a fire that is now growing throughout the Soviet Union.

We have seen, in the past few months, thousands of people walking in the streets of Moscow crying out for independence. We have seen leaders around the world asking for independence for the Baltic States and the other states that are seeking that independence.

But, my fear is that the movement for independence in the Soviet Union is moving at a faster pace than what the leaders in the Soviet Union are willing to negotiate.

I hear now possibilities of a civil war, if they do not move at a more rapid pace. I heard yesterday that Yeltsin told the Russian Legislature that he signed a protocol with the KGB chief establishing a Russian National Security Agency.

None of us want to see a civil war. We want to see your independence, but how can we reach that point while avoiding civil war, and do you think that the possibility of such a war could become a reality?

Chairman HOYER. President Landsbergis?

President LANDSBERGIS. The Baltic States have set an example of how one can go rapidly along the path of reform, even toward independence, without entering into a civil war.

If the United States were to give special support to the Baltic States, not just because of their right to independence, but because they have followed this peaceful path, it would be an example to the Soviet Republics that they should follow this example as well.

And, specifically, I have in mind granting aid to the Soviet Republics, which is conditioned on reforms which avoid violence and civil war.

Mr. HERTEL. Do you intend to express that to the President when you meet with him tomorrow?

President LANDSBERGIS. I will say that, but I will wonder if I am not, in fact, telling him this for the second time.

Chairman HOYER. Mr. Savisaar, and then Mr. Godmanis, we are going to let you close, and then I'll say a few words for we'll have to adjourn.

Prime Minister SAVISAAR. If I could first of all comment on the possibility of civil war. I don't consider it likely at this point.

One only resorts to arms if one is at its wits end, if there are no more arguments.

In the relation between the Baltic States and the Soviet Union, however, most of the arguments there have not been used, we haven't even reached that stage yet.

I do not think civil war is possible in the Soviet Union either. I think presently there is no idea what could split the Soviet population in two, into two parts, the Reds and the Whites.

The situation in the Soviet Union today is characterized by the fact—not by the fact that there are too many conflicting ideas, but rather the lack of ideas.

Chairman HOYER. Mr. Godmanis?

Prime Minister GODMANIS. I can only give you one example. The grounds for the civil war is to use inter-ethnic relations and the situation in the Soviet Union has shown this, in the south of the Soviet Union, as you know.

In the Baltics, you know in Latvia, we are Latvians 52 percent, 48 percent are non-Latvians, most of them Russians.

Nevertheless, during these 2½, 3 years, the people have voted for independence in exactly the last plebiscite referendum, more than three fourths of the whole number of population have voted for the independent country, showed us and the whole people that our way is civilized way, and we are using parliamentary methods which are absolutely adaptable for the different nations, the participants of the nations who are living in the Latvia, and exactly in the Baltics. This is my answer why in Baltics I can't see any moves or can't see any reason for a civil war never time.

Chairman HOYER. I want to thank the two Prime Ministers and President Landsbergis for their presence here.

I want to thank all of you who have attended for your presence. I think this has been an excellent hearing. We look forward to your meetings with the President and with Secretary Baker. We are hopeful that they will be fruitful, given the very powerful message you have to deliver to them.

I also want to thank Ms. Lauristan, the distinguished Vice-Chair of the parliament, for being with us as well.

In response to Mr. Hertel's question, and I'm sure all of you know that all of us who went to the Baltic States have introduced H.J. Res. 179. Essentially, it speaks to many of the issues that have been raised here today.

It calls for a U.S. presence in the Baltic States, which you have discussed, and which we think is important. It recommends that we channel humanitarian and economic assistance directly to the Baltics, which all of you discussed here.

We indicate, and this is important, I believe, there has been much discussion over the last 8 to 9 months about legitimate governments, or, conversely, illegitimate governments. There has been much said about defending legitimate governments, particularly, legitimate small governments.

The resolution calls upon the United States to recognize and establish and maintain direct contacts with the parliaments of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia. There is not one of us who was there who does not believe that they are, in fact, the legitimate representatives of the people of those three respective countries.

And, last, we indicate that the United States should propose observer status, not as a limitation, but as a forerunner for full participation, full membership in the CSCE process.

We are hopeful that the President will authorize Secretary Baker to both propose and support such representation at the Foreign Ministers meeting in June. We think that will be very important, and the Commission will continue to support it, as we did in Paris, as you may know.

The Helsinki Commission did, in fact, support observer status for the three Baltic States in Paris. Unfortunately, that did not occur.

We will be pressing for the passage of this resolution, but we hope that it is helpful in terms of a large number of representatives already supporting it, and we're seeking to have additional sponsors added to that resolution.

All of the members here today have expressed solidarity with your quest for freedom, and to have again international recognition as independent sovereign status.

The United States has always recognized that. Clearly, we need to act more forcefully on that recognition, as you have commented on that.

It is not a simple issue. Though simple in terms of its rightness, it is a complicated political international issue. We will continue to work towards the stated goal of having sovereignty in the three Baltic States fully recognized in the international community—by the Soviet Union as well—so that, when we next visit the Baltic States, it will be Lithuanians, Latvians and Estonians who will check our passports at the borders.

We thank you for your presence here.

[Whereupon, the hearing was concluded at 12:23 p.m.]

APPENDIX

Democracy under Siege

Opening Statement by Rep. Steny H. Hoyer
Chairman of the U.S. Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe
7 May 1991

President Landsbergis, Prime Minister Savisaar, Prime Minister Godmanis, Distinguished guests, Ladies and Gentlemen, it is an honor to welcome you to these hearings of the Helsinki Commission.

These hearings come at a time of continuing peril for the people of Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia. In Lithuania Soviet troops recently seized more government buildings. In Latvia, the "Baltic Military Personnel Union" has been re-activated to defend the unity of the USSR.

In February the Helsinki Commission led the first U.S. congressional delegation to visit the three Baltic states since January's bloodshed in Lithuania and Latvia, where Soviet Interior Ministry troops shot and killed peaceful, unarmed civilians. What we found was the harsh reality of democracy under siege: concrete barricades outside protecting the parliament buildings meant to house freely elected legislators, sandbags stacked inside and overhead the acrid smoke from bonfires that warm young people maintaining continuous protective vigils; tanks and armored personnel carriers with their gun turrets pointed at publishing houses and TV stations; anxious citizens, who had placed their hopes in the democratic process, now confronting its fragility; and beleaguered leaders seeking political protection from the West. In our meeting with President Landsbergis, we were told that Lithuania stands at the line between faith and violence, between peaceful democracy and militant totalitarianism.

The fate of the Baltic states was decided in a deal cut between Stalin and Hitler. In June 1940, the Soviet army crossed the borders of the once free and independent countries of Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia while Hitler invaded France. Soviet strategy was to make the illegal annexation appear consistent with the laws of these three countries and with the will of the Baltic peoples. During the subsequent 50 tragic and bitter years, Soviet authorities sought to eradicate the vestiges of the political independence and national statehood in the Baltic states.

But the struggle of the Baltic peoples to regain lost sovereignty never died -- not even when Stalin sent thousands of their leaders to die in Siberian camps. Under Mikhail Gorbachev, the independence movement gained new life, and new possibilities. In mid-1988 Gorbachev's policies encouraged the development of "Baltic popular fronts" -- de facto multi-party systems that embraced communists and noncommunists, ostensibly united in support of *perestroika*. The collapse of communist regimes in Eastern Europe in late 1989 further emboldened opposition forces under Soviet control, where pressures to open the political system were proving irresistible. Faced with increasing pressures for political autonomy, Gorbachev ultimately agreed to let Republics organize multi-party elections to their legislatures.

Finally enabled by the top Soviet leadership to take responsibility for their own governance, all three Baltic states moved swiftly in 1990 to distance themselves from the center, from Moscow, and from Gorbachev: Lithuania defiantly, with its historic declaration of independence on March 11; Estonia and Latvia a bit more cautiously, with commitments to reinstate independence following a transitional period. Now, the freely elected Baltic leaders are engaged in a dramatic and sometimes dangerous process of repairing devastated economies, restoring trust in government, rebuilding democratic institutions, and renewing spiritual strength.

United States policy on the Baltics is well known: we have never recognized their forcible incorporation into the Soviet Union. Unfortunately, while we have been consistent in stating this policy of *de jure* non-recognition, we have been unable to act on it. The result has been to accord *de facto* recognition of incorporation, bowing to what has seemed inevitable and perhaps unchangeable. Until now.

What the Baltic states need now is not just a negative policy of non-recognition of incorporation, but a positive policy of *steady recognition* of the real independence emerging in the Baltic states today. As a policy of moral principle, non-recognition worked. As a policy of action, it does not. On the basis of a *new* United States policy towards the Baltics, we should do the following:

- deal directly with their freely elected parliaments and democratic governments;
- establish bilateral information and cultural offices with each of the Baltic states;
- channel U.S. assistance, economic support and cooperative programs directly to the Baltic states, based on bilateral agreements negotiated with Tallinn, Riga, and Vilnius;
- call for the withdrawal of Soviet military forces from the Baltics unless and until freely and fairly negotiated treaties between the Baltics states and Moscow provide for them;
- reiterate to the Soviet political leadership that the use of force is an unacceptable method of resolving political questions and will have costs for U.S.-Soviet cooperation.
- propose participation by the Baltic states within the 34 nation Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. CSCE is as important to the Baltic issue as it has been central to Eastern and Central European freedom. Participation in CSCE by the Baltic states could promote their ongoing struggle for independence. As an important step toward this goal the U.S. government should propose observer status for the Baltic states at the next CSCE meeting and ensure the active presence of their representatives in the CSCE process. For over fifteen years the CSCE has provided a framework in which an often bitter if not tense debate took place, but also a process by which reconciliation could occur. Both are necessary now.

The 1990 parliamentary elections that took place--at Gorbachev's initiative--in the Baltic states and the Soviet republics have engendered new political realities and weakened the position of the Communist Party. They gave voice to the masses and influence to people determined to create a better and freer life than fate offered their parents. Outside the Lithuanian parliament are makeshift memorials to those killed in January. They are draped with crucifixes, pictures of the victims and candles that struggle to remain lit despite the cold winds of a Vilnius winter. Occasionally, a candle goes out and someone, often an elderly women, will tenderly rekindle it, before leaving. Its for the next generation. The Balts will not forget their past; they will not give up on their future. Their prospects look worse today than they did just eight months ago, but one thing is certain, having been validated by 50 years of history: their spirit remains as strong as ever. This is no time for us to abandon them. For their sake, for the sake of democratic evolution in the Soviet Union--and for ourselves.

And so President Landsbergis, Prime Minister Savisaar, and Prime Minister Godmanis it is with honor that the Helsinki Commission welcomes you to the United States. We are eager to hear from each of you as to how your nations are progressing in turning the clearly expressed desire of the Baltic peoples for freedom into reality and how we may help you.

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STATEMENT OF DENNIS DECONCINI, CO-CHAIRMAN
COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE
HEARING ON DEMOCRATIC DEVELOPMENTS IN ALBANIA
MAY 22, 1991

It is a great pleasure to welcome Dr. Berisha and Mr. Kadare here today. I have had the privilege to meet them previously in Albania -- Mr. Kadare last August and Dr. Berisha just prior to the March elections. Both are impressive for their insights regarding developments in Albania, and admirable for their advocacy of democratic reforms.

In the past year, I have taken a considerable interest in Albania, having had the opportunity to visit that country twice as head of Commission delegations. The Commission's active interest in Albania stems from the desire of that country to join the Helsinki process. Beginning at the Copenhagen Human Dimension Meeting in June 1990, Albania has been granted observer status at CSCE meetings. Albania would like to move beyond its current observer status and become a full participant in the process.

During the first visit, we were told by everybody, from President Ramiz Alia to a selected group of university students, that there was no need for alternative political parties in Albania, nor for the opening of places of worship. At that time, the authorities acknowledged the existence of less than 90 political prisoners, and no one dared to express openly and clearly their opposition to the government of the communist Party of Labor. As a result, the Commission delegation had stated that it needed to see significant improvements in Albania's human rights performance before membership in the CSCE would become possible.

By the time of the second visit in March, things had changed. Several alternative political parties had formed and were fielding candidates for the Albanian Assembly, the population was openly expressing its political preferences, hundreds of political prisoners had been released, and churches and mosques were opening throughout the country. There is no question that the situation in March was markedly better than that in August, a fact which we on the Helsinki Commission have welcomed. However, when compared to the standards for democracy and human rights held commonly by all of Europe, the United States and Canada in the Helsinki Final Act and subsequent CSCE documents, these positive developments fell short in many important respects, including those relating to free and fair elections in the Copenhagen document.

In addition to hearing our witnesses describe the current situation in Albania and the prospects for democracy in that country, the Commission hopes to hear their views on the how the United States and other CSCE countries can best help promote democratic change in Albania today. We would like to hear their views on how the CSCE process has impacted on developments in Albania as well as how it can best continue to do so.

Similarly, relations between Albania and the United States were finally restored on March 15, 1991, a development which Chairman Hoyer and I very much supported. A key question now, in addition to that of CSCE membership, is how the United States can best develop these bilateral relations to the benefit of democracy in Albania. I would like to hear the views of our witnesses on this issue as well. We are very fortunate to have them here, and I look forward to hearing their statements.

STATEMENT OF
ASSISTANT SECRETARY WILLIAM D. FRITTS, JUNIOR
COMMISSIONER, U.S. COMMISSION ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE

HEARING WITH PRESIDENT VYTAUTAS LANDSBERGIS OF LUTHUANIA

It is an honor to welcome today the distinguised Prime Minister of Lithuania, Vytautas Landsbergis, and to congratulate him on the continued, courageous and peaceful actions of his country, in pursuit of self-determination.

The recent brutal crackdown by the Soviet Union in Lithuania and Latvia precipitated an unprecedented surge of support for the Baltic countries. The United States' Senate and Congress adopted resolutions condemning the unwarranted and illegal actions of the Soviet government, including the deployment of and use of force by Soviet troops in Lithuania. Further, the Senate and House urged the Administration to review economic benefits to the Soviet Union in light of the crisis in the Baltic States. The CSCE Commission sent a telegram to President Gorbachev, calling for withdrawal of Soviet Army units.

Chairman Hoyer and Members of the February Congressional Delegation to the Baltics, recently introduced House Resolution 179, calling for the United States to establish an American presence in the form of an information office, in each of the Baltic states, to serve as a form of political recognition and support; to establish and maintain direct contacts with the parliaments of the Baltic states as the legitimate, freely-elected and democratic representatives of the peoples of those states and to propose and seek support for observer status in the 34-nation Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) at the next Meeting of Foreign Ministers of the CSCE participating states. Further, to channel directly US Government humanitarian aid and economic assistance, including management and training assistance to the Baltic states; in addition to private sector humanitarian aid, to the Baltic states. This Resolution already has more than eighty co-sponsors.

Recent demonstrations and strikes within the Soviet Union have increased the very real prospect of further disintegration of the economy, and unmodified control by the Supreme Soviet. The apparent power struggle within the Kremlin has led to a pact - however tenuous - between President Gorbachev and Boris Yeltsin which can lead only to further decentralization.

As Members of the CSCE Commission, we are particularly pleased that President Bush has invited President Landsbergis and the foreign ministers of Estonia and Latvia to the White House for consultations. We view this as recognition of the President's deep concern for your country's struggle to regain its independence, and his steadfast belief in the principles of the Helsinki Final Act, formally adopted as the "Charter of Paris for a New Europe" by 34 CSCE participating nations, including the Soviet Union, in November of last year.

The testimony of Vice President Bronius Kuzmickas before this Commission on January 22 of this year heightened the determination of the Commission to visit your country, in order to meet with your freely-elected leaders and government officials. In February, despite U.S. and Allied involvement in the Persian Gulf war, thirteen Members - the largest Congressional delegation to visit the Baltic States in the fifty years since their forcible incorporation into the Soviet Union - visited Lithuania in the context of a fact-finding mission, but with the supreme purpose of expressing U.S. Congressional and the American people's support for Baltic aspirations. We were heartened by the enterprising measures your government and citizens are implementing in respect to Lithuanian constitutional rights, and deeply impressed by your country's determination to achieve independence by peaceful, democratic means.

Your government's view that links with the Soviet republics, particularly Russia, is the most pragmatic method of avoiding further centralization with the Soviet Union was echoed by Boris Yeltsin who, as you are well aware, recognizes and fully supports the legitimate aspirations of the Baltic states. Soviet actions against your country and Latvia were denounced by not only the Moldavia and Ukrainian representatives of the Supreme Soviet, but also by rallies throughout the Soviet Union, and by the mayors of Moscow and Leningrad. These strong pronouncements reflect the admiration of those who recognize and support the freedoms your country is determined to regain, and who, in turn, are motivated by your courage and unyielding commitment to democracy.

Mr. President, as Members of the CSCE Commission we affirm the continued validity of the Helsinki Final Act to promote democracy and human rights for all nations; as citizens of a democratic nation which fought for its right to freedom, we support unreservedly your legitimate right to freedom and democracy.

Statement of Congresswoman Louise M. Slaughter
before a hearing of the
Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe

May 7, 1991

I thank the Helsinki Commission Co-Chairmen, Mr. Hoyer and Mr. DeConcini, for convening today's hearing. In February, I was honored to meet with President Landsbergis and Prime Minister Godmanis during the Helsinki Commission visit to the Baltic States. I am pleased today also to meet Prime Minister Savisaar and to welcome these three honorable leaders to our Capitol.

When our Congressional delegation met with Boris Yeltsin, it was sobering to hear him say that the United States did not appear "sufficiently concerned" about the growing tension in the Soviet Republics. Yeltsin's indictment of the United States for failing to provide a clear message of support to the Baltic people was reflected in the hesitant and doubtful countenances of the Latvian people when they encountered our delegation. When we stopped at the Freedom Memorial in Riga, the Latvians didn't know how to receive our delegation. Once we laid a wreath at the Memorial, the people of Riga were assured of our solidarity with their cause. They cried and embraced us, thanking us for coming to their country and speaking up for freedom. Leaving the Parliament building in Vilnius, where at least 15 people were killed by the Soviet military, an older Lithuanian woman rushed up to me and whispered, "We are all alone here in the world." These proud and courageous people ought not to be alone and isolated in their struggle for self-determination.

Members of Congress have, since returning from the Baltics, introduced important legislation to show that Americans are, indeed, "sufficiently concerned" about the Baltics. I am proud to cosponsor H.J.Res. 179 as an important gesture of Congressional solidarity and support for the aspirations of the Baltic States. As this assembly well knows, the Resolution urges CSCE observer status for the Baltic States, calls for the establishment of an official United States presence in each of the Baltic States and would channel US aid directly to the Baltic governments. The Resolution further recognizes the Parliaments of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia as the legitimate, democratic representatives of the Baltic peoples.

This morning, as we meet to consider the further direction of United States policy in the Baltics, one young man from my district of Rochester, New York, is in the Baltics to make a personal statement about solidarity with the Balts. Paulius Klimas, a proud Lithuanian-American, is determined to walk the nearly 400 miles from Tallin to Vilnius to show his support for Baltic independence. In 1988, this same young man walked from Rochester, New York to Washington, DC to protest the Soviet imprisonment of a Lithuanian dissident.

Paulius Klimas is just one American, but his passionate support of the Baltic people is representative of that of a great number of Americans. I want to wish Mr. Klimas success in his mission and I want to tell each of the Baltic leaders here today that the United States supports you. The American people are sickened by the Soviet crackdown of recent months and they are sympathetic to the plight of your freedom-loving people. I am

anxious to hear from you today about recent developments in your respective States and future prospects for the independence movement.

As leaders across the globe look to shape a new world order, stability alone must not be the objective of United States foreign policies. Strategic interests should not blind us to repression and human suffering whether it be in the Baltics, Tibet, Northern Ireland, or South Africa. As a free and democratic Nation, we Americans have a responsibility to speak up for human rights in all corners of the world. A good place to start is in the Baltic States and I am proud to lend my voice to their call for freedom.

AN APPEAL
TO THE MEMBER STATES OF THE CSCE BY
THE FOREIGN MINISTERS OF THE REPUBLIC OF ESTONIA,
THE REPUBLIC OF LATVIA AND THE REPUBLIC OF LITHUANIA

THE FOREIGN MINISTERS OF THE REPUBLIC OF ESTONIA, REPUBLIC OF LATVIA AND REPUBLIC OF LITHUANIA, AS REPRESENTATIVES OF DEMOCRATICALLY ELECTED GOVERNMENTS FOLLOWING THEIR STATES DECLARATIONS OF INDEPENDENCE, ADDRESS THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE MEMBER STATES OF THE CSCE,

IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE POSITIVE ATMOSPHERE CREATED BY THE PARIS CHARTER FOR A NEW EUROPE AND TAKING INTO CONSIDERATION THAT THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF THE CSCE PARTICIPANTS DO NOT RECOGNIZE THE FORCIBLE ANNEXATION OF THE BALTIC STATES,

IN ORDER TO RENEW THE LEGAL INTERNATIONAL RIGHTS OF ESTONIA, LATVIA AND LITHUANIA, THUS ELIMINATING THE CONSEQUENCES OF WORLD WAR II BY SOLVING A BALTIC ISSUE WHICH HAS BEEN A SOURCE OF STRAIN IN THE CREATION OF A NEW AND DEMOCRATIC EUROPE,

RECALLING THE CSCE SUMMIT IN PARIS WHERE THE BALTIC STATES PARTICIPATED AS THE DISTINGUISHED GUEST,

AND EMPHASIZED THEIR ADHERENCE TO UNIVERSALLY RECOGNIZED PRINCIPLES OF INTERNATIONAL LAW AND OF THE HELSINKI FINAL ACT.

WE APPEAL TO THE GOVERNMENTS OF THE MEMBER STATES OF THE CSCE

TO SUPPORT THE ACCEPTANCE OF THE BALTIC STATES WITH OBSERVER STATUS OF THE FIRST MEETING OF THE CSCE COUNCIL OF FOREIGN MINISTERS IN BERLIN AS A STEP TOWARDS FULL MEMBERSHIP IN CSCE ACCORDING TO THE TERMS OF ARTICLE 54, OF THE FINAL RECOMMENDATION OF THE HELSINKI CONSULTATIONS,

RIGA, 30 APRIL 1991

LENNART MERI	JANIS JURKANS	ALGIRDAS SAUDARGAS
MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE REPUBLIC OF ESTONIA	MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE REPUBLIC OF LATVIA	MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF THE REPUBLIC OF LITUANIA

SELECTED DOCUMENTATION
ON HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS COMMITTED BY THE USSR
IN THE REPUBLIC OF LITHUANIA

January - April 1991

May 1991

Office of the President
Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania

SUPREME COUNCIL OF THE REPUBLIC OF LITHUANIA

ADDRESS

To the UN Secretary General and Signatories to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights

Stating that one year ago, on 11 March 1990, Lithuania re-established State Independence and that despite the crimes that are being committed by the USSR Military Forces, the Government of the Republic of LIthuania is in control of the Republic's territory and of the situation in the country;

Emphasizing that the 9 February 1991 plebiscite once again indicated the will of Lithuania's people to live in an independent democratic state of Lithuania,

Reminding that many democratic countries of the World have not recognized the forcible incorporation of Lithuania into the USSR in 1940;

Expecting that the USSR will also change its attitude toward Lithuania's annexation;

Respecting and appreciating the actions of the UNO members, Iceland and Denmark, toward re-establishment of diplomatic relations with the Republic of LIthuania;

Emphasizing its adherence to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights;

Pledging itself to cooperate with the United Nations Organization and to ensure universal and true observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the Republic of Lithuania,

Accordingly a d d r e s s e s the Secretary General of the United Nations Organization and the signatories to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and r e q u e s t s:

1. To appeal to the UN Commission on Human Rights to investigate the flagrant violation of human rights committed by the USSR armed forces in LIthuania on 11-13 January 1991 which is still continuing.
2. To discuss the situation in Lithuania and in the Baltics at the forthcoming plenary session of the UN General Assembly under article 35 of the United Nations Charter, the obligations provided wherein are assumed by the Republic of Lithuania.

3. To condemn the actions of the USSR against the independent state of Lithuania, the people of Lithuania and its legally elected Government that violate paragraphs 3 and 4 of article 2 and paragraph 1 of article 33 of the United Nations Charter.

4. To act as a mediator in speeding up the start of the inter-state negotiations between the USSR and the Republic of Lithuania, with the participation of observers from the United Nations Organization, contributing in this way to the elimination of threat to international peace and security in the Baltics.

President
Supreme Council of the
Republic of Lithuania — Vytautas Landsbergis

Vilnius,
March 12, 1991

STATEMENT

TO THE UNITED NATIONS HUMAN RIGHTS COMMITTEE
WITH THE REQEST TO END HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS
FOLLOWING THE INTENSIFYING USSR AGGRESSION
IN THE REPUBLIC OF LITHUANIA

The Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania, which was democratically elected in February of 1990, restored the statehood of the Republic of Lithuania, which has been occupied by the Soviet Union since 1940, by proclaiming on March 11, 1990, the Act of Independence. The will of the people was demonstrated in the Baltic Way protest (the joining of hands from Vilnius to Tallinn) against Soviet occupation on August 23, 1989. At that time, 1,576,569 signatures (59.4% of the population) were collected in Lithuania demanding the departure of the occupying Soviet military forces. On February 9, 1991, in a plebiscite vote, 90.47% (or 76.47% of the voting population) voted in favor of a democratic and independent Republic of Lithuania.

The majority of the nations of the world do not recognize the forceful incorporation of Lithuania, a former member of the League of Nations, into the USSR. The leadership of the Republic of Lithuania, in fulfilling the free will of the people of Lithuania, has sought through peaceful means, which include political negotiations, to come to agreement with the USSR on the restoration of statehood as well as normal interstate relations between Lithuania and other states.

Unfortunately, since the declaration of the independence of the Republic of Lithuania in 1990, the USSR has sought and continues to seek the restoration of an occupational regime in Lithuania through various means, such as the use of military force, the slaughter of peaceful inhabitants and the undermining of independent political structures. These acts of Soviet aggression are supported and consolidated by anticonstitutional organizations active in Lithuania. These organizatons represent the occupational regime of the USSR which has systematically and brutally violated all documents for the defense of universal human rights. On January 11-13, 1991, special armed forces and other USSR military divisions, with the use of tanks, armored vehicles and other military equipment, attacked the peaceful inhabitants of Vilnius in seeking to assist the leaders of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) in Lithuania to forcefully overthrow the constitutionally elected government of the Republic of Lithuania against the will of the inhabitants.

The USSR violates the human rights in the Republic of Lithuania with the intent to destabilize the political situation in Lithuania.

- it attempts to once again force a comprised Soviet regime upon the inhabitants of the Republic of Lithuania through the use of the most horrible means of USSR military terror;

- draft-age men are being taken from Lithuania and forcefully drafted into the Soviet army;

- *the right of the people of Lithuania to objective information is being denied as access to the state mass media facilities of the Republic of Lithuania is given exclusively to the representatives of the Lithuanian local division CPSU through the use of the occupied state television, radio stations and publishing houses;*

- *Soviet military treat journalists with brutality, breaking cameras and often detaining reporters;*

- *disinformation is being spread in the Republic of Lithuania and on an international level through the seized media of mass communications;*

- *ecological diversions and ecological blackmail such as threats to cut off energy supplies or even to blow up the Ignalina nuclear power plant are widely spread as extremistic diversions to intimidate the inhabitants of Lithuania;*

- *the economic blockade of the Republic of Lithuania is being intensified;*

- *the blocking and restrictions of the general use of transportation (train, air and sea transports) for Lithuanian importing and exporting to and from Russia, the Ukraine, Moldavia and other Republics of the Soviet Union;*

- *a state of martial law is being imposed throughout Lithuania through the imposition of USSR military rule and military patrols;*

- *state and public buildings of the Republic of Lithuania are being occupied and ransacked;*

- *archives of Lithuanian history, culture and the press are being destroyed;*

- *border posts of the Republic of Lithuania are being demolished and the inviolability of the state borders of Lithuania are not being respected;*

- *peaceful inhabitants of the Republic of Lithuania are being terrorised. Soviet soldiers are breaking into private flats without any Procurator's sanction. The people are being beaten and mutilated (only in January, 1991, 13 people arrested by the military patrols of the Soviet Army were badly injured, 9 were hospitalized with brain traumas or skull fractures, and 2 were shot);*

- *national discord is being sown both in the Republic of Lithuania and beyond it; specially trained agents of the CPSU and KGB are being sent to the Republic of Lithuania to this end;*

- *institutions of the USSR are using the intellectual property of the Republic of Lithuania and its citizens, without the compensation and without the permission of the rightful authors, for the specific intent to support the functions of the occupationary regime;*

- the blocking of the opportunity and means for foreign diplomatic representatives to travel to the Republic of Lithuania, thereby prohibiting them from establishing foreign consulates and other facilities in Lithuania as well as interfering with attepts by foreign representatives to participate in international meetings and other conferences and symposiums held in Lithuania. (For this reason, it was impossible to convene the Second International Human Rights Conference in Vilnius in spring of 1990, international conference on privatization in Vilnius in January of 1991 and many others);

- normal trade, postal and international health service relations are being blocked; in certain cases, medical aid and International Red Cross efforts to assist those suffering from injuries as a result of Soviet military actions are being blocked by the occupationary institutions of the USSR.

All of the above attest to the terror and blackmail being conducted by the USSR against the Republic of Lithuania and its inhabitants. Below, certain cases and consequences of the USSR aggression against the inhabitants of the Republic of Lithuania and other people on its territory are examined in greater detail.

The thread of these aggressions to the security and cooperation in Europe for the most part was not well taken into account at the United Nations' Human Rights Commission 47th session in Geneva in February of 1991, when discussing the human rights violations by Soviet militaries. Representatives from the USSR were only obliged to refere to Commission about purposes of these violations. Hovever, as it is known the leadership of the USSR falsified facts about similiar incidents of soviet military agression in Tbilisi, Baku and Fergana.

I. SOVIET AGGRESSION

In using military force against the political independence and sovereignty of the Republic of Lithuania, the USSR commited an act of aggression as defined by the December 14, 1974 UN General Assembly in Chapter 3, article (a).

The USSR is utilizing various political methods (e.g., resolutions of USSR Congress of People's Deputies, decrees of the USSR President, ultimative appeals from the CPSU, etc.) in seeking to impose its own laws on Lithuania. The USSR is interfering in the execution of the laws passed by the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania in expressing the will of the inhabitants of Lithuania. Citizens of the the Republic of Lithuania are being barred from adhering to legitimate national constitutional rights such as not serving in the occupational USSR army, choosing alternative service, etc.

The primary goal of the Soviet Union's political, economic and ecological aggression was and still is to destabilize and overthrow the legitimate, constitutionally elected leadership of the Republic of Lithuania. In this way the rights of the citizens of Lithuania to free self-determination and choice of political power are being grossly violated.

The USSR is refusing to withdraw the Soviet army from the territory of the Republic of Lithuania, despite the fact that 1.6 million inhabiatants of Lithuania (over 3/5 of the the adult population) signed such a request in the summer of 1989. Furthermore, additional units of the Soviet army and special forces have been deployed in Lithuania after december 1990. Violent "recruiting" of draft-age men into military service has been continuing in Lithuania. Persons having left the Soviet armed forces of their own free will are being hunted down and forcibly returned. From March 11, 1990, to February 1, 1991, 24 young Lithuanians serving in the Soviet armed forces have been killed and some of them commited suicide. Army supervision is taking place in all of Lithuania on the pretext of searching for draft-age men or "deserters". Soviet soldiers are terrorising Lithuanian state deputies, breaking into private flats, injuring, threatening and intimidating inhabitants.

The "state of emergency" has been attempted to be introduced in Vilnius and other locales of Lithuania by the Soviet military forces in January and February of 1991. Only the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania can declare a state of emergency in Lithuania. Besides, Article 4 of the International Pact on civil and political rights (as well as Article 17 of the USSR Law on the Legal Regime of the State of Emergency) requires informing the UN General Secretary about the introduction of such a state. This was not done by Soviet officials.

On January 11, 1991, Soviet paratroopers seized the press house, the Department of National Defence building, buildings belonging to the Hunter and Fishermen's Society, and the Nemecine television retransmission tower. On January 12, the Soviet paratroopers seized the Defence Department's border post on the Pariece-Druskininkai road, blocked the telephone communications of the Lithuanian State News Agency and other information agencies, and seized the dispatch station of the Vilnius railroad center. Important rupublican buildings being guarded voluntarily by unarmed inhabitants were surrounded and attacked.

On the night from January 12 to January 13, 1991, Soviet paratroops, together with heavy tanks and combat armored vehicles, stormed and seized the Vilnius Television Tower as well as the television and radio administrative buildings. A representative of the anonymous "National Salvation Committee" declared through mass communication media to inhabitants that the Lithuanian Supreme Council ended its activity and that this committee was sizing power and that a "curfew" was being introduced in the republic. Sometime later the international telephone and telegraph station was seized. In the months of March and April attempts again were made to seize various republican buildings of communications, banks. Technical school in Vilnius and Lithuanian paper warehouses were sized by special soviet militsia contingents. On April 19 the Lithuanian border posts near Medininkai were drstroyed.

Anti-constitutional utilization of Soviet military units.
The January 11-13 Soviet military unit violence resulted in 702 casualties. Seventeen persons died those of which 11 were shot,

Statement, 4/8

3 were crushed by tank treads, and 2 killed from explosions. Soviet paratroops demonstrated extreme cruelty against the unarmed defenders of the Lithuanian radio and television buildings. Victims were crushed by tank treads that had been using spotlights to blind them. Special Soviet military units used dum-dum bullets (whose use is prohibited by international law), beat people with rifle butts and kicked those who had fallen. 52 persons were injured by bullets, 136 are recovering from stab wounds and lacerations, and 10 are suffering from burns. 416 persons suffered ear injuries as a result of close- range cannon shots. The windows of flats in the surrounding neighborhood were shattered by acoustic waves. In the month of April, 153 victims of these military agressions are still being held and cared for in hospitals.

Anti-constitutional activities of the anonymous "National Salvation Committee", founded by the CPSU.

To justify the military coup d'état of the legitimate authority of the Republic of Lithuania, the Soviet occupational bodies and collaborators used the excuse for the alleged "division" of the CPSU property. The "division" was to be executed not in curt but by Soviet military forces representing the interests of the Soviet empire. That was affirmed by independent USSR military experts Shield ("Schit") including USSR deputies of different levels (their conclusions are attached to this statement).

II. ECOLOGICAL DAMAGE

The environmental pollution of Lithuania and anthropogenic degradation has reached critical limits. The main Lithuanian rivers have been so severly polluted that they no longer can be safely used for drinking or recreation. The Lithuanian coast of the Baltic Sea is particularly the worst polluted area. The damage done to the Lithuanian economy by the Soviet imperial policy exceeds 350 million roubles every year. The damage is increasing from 3% to 5% annually. Far more important and greater damage occuring to Lithuania and neighboring countries are caused by the deformations of the genetic structure which are a result of backward technologies and their wrong use and the negative influence on people's health, fauna and flora is not taken into account.

The structure of Lithuanian economy enforced by the Soviet imperial system and deformed by one-sided specialization inevitably led to the ecological catastrophe of our country, which means gradual dying out of the small Lithuanian nation. The impoverishment of Lithuanian nature and ruined landscape is one of the greatest irreparable damages of compulsory incorporation of Lithuania into the USSR.

The South Lithuania's inhabitants have suffered losses inflicted upon them by the Chernobyl accident. Greater obstacles created by the blackmail of the conservative forces of the great Soviet empire threaten the very survival of the Baltic States. As

Soviet troops pull out of Eastern Europe and are moved to the Republic of Lithuania and forced to dwell in bac conditions, agressive military extremists threaten to blow up the Ignalina nuclear power plant and other key structures which would endanger the ecological system of the entire Baltic region.

III. ECONOMIC BLOCKADE

The Soviet economic blockade imposed on the Republic of Lithuania from April 18 to July 1, 1990, interferred with the normal functioning of the economy and the meeting of peoples needs. The total losses of the Republic of Lithuania including the preliminary loss of potential profit amout approximately to 1.5 million roubles.

As a result of the economic blockade, the supply of the main natural resources, specifically fuel, to Lithuania under contracts was cut short. The Soviet government blockaded rail shipment and set back the development of the Lithuanian national economy at the time when she was making attepts to overcome irrational territorial distribution of the economy and colonial specialization. Fodder contracts which had been broken forced the killing of cattle.

Only within 3 months of 1990 Soviet Union forced Lithuanian industrial enterprises to lose 415.5 million roubles in unproduced goods. The production of consumer goods was cut in half, while only 1/10 of fuel stocks were available and transportation was down by 1/3. The Soviet government used the savings of the Lithuanian people for its own interests (6.7 billion roubles) as well as credit stocks of the Lithuanian enterprises and organizations.

The Republic of Lithuania statistics department reports that the the total amount of goods illegally seized by the Soviet military during the months of January and February, 1991, reach approximately to.74.9 million. General medical expenses have reached 6 million roubles, of them the treatment of traumas 1.1 mln. roubles. From the seized radio and television centers alone damage amounts to 45.7 million roubles, with technical equipment reaching 18.7 million roubles in damage and the seized film equipment worth over 21.7 million roubles.

IV. VIOLATIONS OF HUMAN RIGHTS

The USSR is grossly violating fundamental human rights of the Lithuanian people as defined in the 1966 International Covenant On Civil and Political Rights. Civilians were killed during military attacks (violation of the Covenant, Article 6), civilians were shot dead, tortured, assaulted (violation of Article 7), and they were arbitrarily detained and arrested (violation of Article 9). At the same time the Soviet troops violated the 1984 Convention Against Torture and other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment (violation of Articles 1 and 2). The freedom of expression of the Lithuanian people is being grossly violated, the main mass media buildings of

Lithuania were seized (violation of International Covenant On Civil and Political Rights, Article 19). The Soviet Union by all these actions also violated its obligations under the Final Act of the Coppenhagen Conference and the Paris Charter For New Europe in which the freedom of expression of opinion , as well as the ban of arbitrary detention and arrest, cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment.

The Soviet occupational army without any right has been recruiting conscripts by force, secretly taking them away from Lithuania and subjecting them to army service. In 1990 24 young men were captured and taken away from Lithuania. 17 Lithuanian soldiers who have refused to serve have been framed and sentenced.

The communist organizers of the Soviet military coup d'état in Lithuania backed by the military are still running the national TV and radio networks. The Press Centre, seized by the military, housed 14 Lithuanian newspaper and magazine offices and the printing plant in which almost all national Lithuanian periodicals were printed. 1500 journalists and printers lost their jobs. About 2000 journalists and technicians were thrown out of the Lithuanian Radio and TV Centre. The main thing is that irreparable and inestimable damage has been inflicted upon Lithuanian culture, publication of books, magazines and newspapers, radio and TV programmes. The press laws of the Republic of Lithuania are being ignored. The freedom of expression and speech of journalists, writers and composers is being violated. The exclusive right to copyright is being violated: directors, writers, actors and other cultural workers are protesting the broadcasting (of videotape recordings, etc.) of their works on television and radio station controlled by the Soviet military personnel, yet these protests are being ignored.

V. INCITEMENT OF NATIONAL DISCORD AMONG ETHNIC GROUPS

The Soviet mass media ("Vremia" and "Pravda") reports of the events in January that the Soviet army brutality against Lithuanian inhabitants was displayed as a fight between supporters of Lithuanian sovereignty and reactionary forces faithful to the imperial policy of the Soviet Union. In fact, 2/3 of Lithuania's Russians and Poles support a democratically independent Lithuania as was demonstrated in the February 1991 plebiscite results. The anticonstitutional hostility to Lithuanian independence propaganda on the Lithuanian TV and radio seized by the military and on the Soviet military radio station should be treated as the CPSU infringement on the right of the Lithuanian people to impartial information. Slander, lies and misinformation are being used in order to create an illusion of national discord among Lithuanians, Russians and Poles. Moreover, censorship has been imposed on the Soviet mass media. Miscauses and consequences of the Soviet aggression against the Republic of Lithuania is being spread in the Soviet Union and all over the world. People are being intimidated and misinformed in Lithuania and outside her borders. High tension is being created especially in Lithuania which is being produced not only by the Soviet mass media. Day and night, tanks and armored cars patrol the streets of Vilnius and other cities to create a atmosphere of danger to human lives. There have been cases when Soviet tanks have crushed cars filled with people. Statement, 7/8

* * *

In the light of the conditions mentioned above and in behalf of 438214 inhabitants of Lithuania we appeal to the United Nations Human Rights Committee requiring to:

1. Deliberate and condemn the on-going acts of aggression by the USSR against the human rights of Baltic nations;

2. Propose to the United Nations Security Council to convene a special session for deliberation on the consequences of the USSR aggression against Lithuania, Latvia and Soviet Georgia the dangers it poses for international security and peace;

3. Use all possible means to ensure that the aggressive acts committed by the Prresident and Government of the USSR against democracy and the peaceful inhabitants of the Republic of Lithuania would be restrained, and the situation in the Baltic republics would be controlled according to procedures outlined by international organizations and agreements of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe;

4. Invite specialists in the areas of international legal procedures, as well as international constitutional and political law for impartial evaluation of the consequences of the USSR's aggressive acts in Lithuania and human rights violations;

5. Mediate and assist in the restoration of the status of the Republic of Lithuania in international organizations with account of its priorities as former member of the League of Nations.

The copies of signitures will to be attached latter so as signing of the Appeal to Committee is still continued after sending this Statement.

The Chairman, Lithuanian Association
for the Protection of Human Rights (LAPHR) *Artanas Buračas*

The Chairman, Council of Independence Party,
Commission on Human Rights and National Minorities,
Supreme Council of Republic of Lithuania *Virgilijus Čepaitis*

Honorary Chairman, LAPHR,
Founding Member of Lithuanian Helsinki Group *Viktoras Petkus*

The Chairman,
Lithuanian Sąjūdis Council *Juozas Tumelis*

Conclusions
of the Independent Military Experts of the Public Organisation
"Shield" on the Events in Vilnius, January 11-13,1991

At the invitation of the State Commission of the Republic of Lithuania created to investigate the events of January 11-13, 1991 (Chairman, Prime Minister G. Vagnorius), a commission of independent military experts, including a captain of first rank in the reserves of the USSR Army, A. A. Yevstigneyev (Commission Chairman and People's Deputy of the RSFSR, Ph.D. in engineering); a lieutenant-colonel in the reserves of the USSR Army, I. V. Bychkov; a colonel of the USSR Army, S. M. Kudinov (People's Deputy of the RSFSR); a captain of the second rank in the reserves of the USSR Army, G. M. Melkov (doctor of law, professor of law); and a major in the reserves of the USSR Army, N. M. Moskovchenko, conducted the following investigation from February 3 to 12, 1991:

a) studied the documents made available to the commission, reviewed three video films of the events of January 11-13, studied tapes of radio intercepts of conversations of the military, studied the documents and conclusions of legal-medical experts, as well as the notes and affidavits of medical and auxiliary personnel in hospitals and the morgue, and reviewed statements given to the press by various government, military, Party, and public officials, and other relevant documents;

b) held detailed discussions with members of the Government of the Republic of Lithuania, with members of the Lithuanian Procuracy [prosecuting authorities], with heads of departments, and other officials;

c) had meetings and detailed discussions with members of the Communist Party of Lithuania (Secretary of the CPL Central Committee Jarmalavicius -- the main contact for the CPL and the National Salvation Committee; Secretary of the CPL Central Committee General Naudziunas and a member of the National Salvation Committee according TASS reports in "Izvestia"; Secretary of the CPL City Committee Khadunkin; member of the CPL Central Committee Shurupov; and others); with the [Soviet] Procurator General of the "Lithuanian SSR" Petrauskas; with a representative of the USSR KGB, Ruksenas; and with managers of the Vilnius radio factory;

d) had discussions with the vice chairmen of the Democratic Labor Party, V. Gerzonas and V. Beriózovas;

e) had meetings and discussions with soldiers and officers of the Vilnius garrison and their family members, and with Vilnius residents of various ages and ethnic backgrounds; and

f) [had a telephone discussion with] the military commander of the Vilnius garrison, Major-General Uschopchik, who refused to have an official meeting, saying that he did not recognize the Government of the Republic of Lithuania, and stated "your official mission means nothing to me."

The Military Commander of the Vilnius garrison, Colonel Byelous, refused to meet, maintaining that all available documents had already been handed over to the investigator.

The head of the garrison's political department, Colonel Smokarev, refused to have a meeting. Repeated attempts to establish contact with him and others were fruitless.

A discussion with the head of the political department of the Military Commissariat for the Republic of Lithuania, Lieutenant-Colonel Golubev, was held, in which he asserted that he did not recognize the Government and the laws of the Republic of Lithuania.

President L... ...bergis and Prime Minister Vagnorius received the commission members.

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1. The situation in Vilnius up to January 11 and the reasons which caused its worsening

The Supreme Council led by Vytautas Landsbergis came to power as a result of free and democratic elections and on March 11, 1991, passed the Act of the restoration of the independent Lithuanian State and moved in the direction of practical realisation of its total sovereignity.

The CP of Lithuania was split. The greater majority of the communists (about 90 %) formed the Democratic Labour Party (chairman A. Brazauskas), and the rest - the CPL on the platform of the CPSU (chairman M. Burokevicius). The property of the Lithuanian communists hasn't been divided between the parties in question, although it's evident that the CPL has rights to only one tenth of the property. In the result of the first legislative acts the CPL practically lost not only economic, but, what is important, political power. Lithuania was the first republic, in which the CPL (CPSU) lost faith not only of the people but of the greater majority of the communists themselves and became no more than one of the social organisations of the Republic. At the same time Lithuania was the first of the Republics of the USSR which

declared that an independent way of development had been chosen in full accordance with the international Pacts on Human Rights of 1966, Final Act of 1975 and Paris Charter of 1990.

It should be said, however, that by striving to strengthen the independent statehood under the conditions of factual economic blockade by the Centre as quickly as possible, the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania passed a number of laws (i.e. on language , citizenship, which to a certain extent violate the rights and interests of non-Lithuanians and military servicemen and their families: picketing of cantonements and worsening of life conditions of the military servicemen have been observed.

The discontent of the population has been increased by the January 7, 1991 Decree of the Government on many-fold price increases. On January 8 a rally was held outside the Parliament building, attended by workers of all nationalities (Lithuanians, Russians, Byelorussians, Poles etc.) which raised political and economic issues. Under the pressure of the people the Parliament suspended the Government Decree on the price increases while the K.Prunskiene-led Government resigned.

Making expert use of the natural discontent of the population with the ever deteriorating standard of living (in fact, these standards are deteriorating all over the USSR) and under conditions of full absence of any inter-national conflict, the CPL, aimed at the reestablishment of its power, allegedly on behalf of the workers and peasants, and assisted by the Armed Forces, forces of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and KGB of the USSR.

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2. Chronology of organisational and political activities of the Centre, the CPL and the military servicemen preceeding the events of January 11-13, 1991.

August 29, 1990 Decree of the Secretoriate of the Central Committee of the CPSU Article 4/5, secretly signed by the Deputy General Secretary of Central Committee of CPSU Ivashko "On the results of meetings and talks with party activists, communists and workers of the Lithuanian SSR":

"Paragraph 7. The State - Legal Department of the CC CPSU with the help of the country should organize measures in bringing to trial leaders of various nationalist and anti-Soviet social organisations, extremist and deserters violating Soviet law, for criminal and administrative activities.

The activities of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs of the USSR, the KGB of the USSR, and the Supreme Court of the USSR should be coordinated for these purposes and an operational - investigator group should be sent to Lithuania. Together with the KGB of the USSR to analyse the request of the CC of the CPL (Burokevicius) to include the communists of military units located in Lithuania into the lists of the republican communist organisation...

Paragraph 10. Social - economic and agricultural departments of the CC CPSU should organize a series of measures in support of Lithuanian peasants, protesting against the agrarian policy of the Supreme Council of the Lithuanian SSR (Independent gazette, January 29, 1991).

November, 1990. Plenary meeting of the Central Committee and the Central Committee of the Russian Federation. Said Polozkov: "...the idea of forming the NSC and the defence of socialism is ripe in many places... it would be fine if party committees together with deputy-communists were the initiators of the given cause."

December 1, 1991.- Decree of the President of the USSR on using military units in the republics to ensure the adequate joining of the Armed Forces of the USSR.

- Decrees of the President of the USSR on relieving Bakatin of his post of Minister of Internal Affairs and appointing Pugo to the post in question, and General Gromov, the former commander of the 40th Army in Afganistan, to the post of Deputy Minister of Internal Affairs of the USSR

All-union organisation of the deputies of all levels of "Soyuz" held the constituent asssembly. It required to impose direct presidential rule in "all rebellious republics" without any further delays;

December, 1990. The supportes of KPL unitied their forces into Congress of Democratic forces.

December 20. 1990. E. Shevarnadze declared his resignation from his post because he did not want to participate in the process of building up dictatorship in the country.

A joint decree N. 492/791 by Defence Minister Yazov and Chairman of State Radio and TV Committee (Gostelradio) Kravchenko "On creating of a new Creative-Industrial TV and Radio Society "Radar" (announced in mass media on February 7, 1991) was signed.

December 30, 1990. Commander of the paratrooper Armies Colonel-General Atchalov, who supervised the redislocation of paratrooper units in Moscow in September of 1990, was appointed the Deputy Minister of Defence and Major-General Grachev was appointed the commander of the paratrooper armies.

January 8, 1991. Defence Minister Yazov issues a decree to introduce paratrooper units into 7 Union Republics, first and foremost into the Baltic States, allegedly to catch all persons avoiding military service in the Armed Forces of the USSR.

Paratrooper units from the Pskov division started arriving in Lithuania. These units, however, have not been used to ensure the joining of the Soviet Army, and the Commisariates of Lithuania didn't get any orders to that effect, because the paratrooper units had to fulfil quite different tasks.

Independent military experts came to the conclusion that the decision to use military force in Vilnius aimed at carrying out a coup was made not later than on January 7.

The commander of the paratrooper armies Major-General Grachev, who was in the Baltic states at that time , made a statement that the military forces under his supervision should not take part in the political processes of the Baltic states. Following this statement he was recalled to Moscow at once.

On January 9, 1991, in Moscow, Nishanov and Oleinik, authorized by the President of the USSR, met "a group of representatives of social-political organisations of the Lithuanian SSR", who informed the leadership of the country about anti-constitutional, anti-Soviet actions of the Lithuanian authorities".

January 10, 1991. The President of the USSR accused the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania of striving to restore the bourgeois regime and suggested that all earlier adopted anti-constitutional acts should be recalled and drew attention to the fact that the people require the imposition of presidential rule in Lithuania.

Sattelite-communication with the Moscow post is formed in the North cantonement in Vilnius.

January 11, 1991. Member of the Central Committee of CPL Jarmalavicius announces that the Congress of Democratic Forces formed the National Salvation Committee, which empowers itself with responsibility for the fate of the Republic.

The same day paratrooper units occupied the Press Center, DOSAAF (Volunteer Society to Support the Army and Navy), Country Defence Department and Archives and thus the use of military force and firearms started.

The first victim was the student of the Vilnius Technical School V.Lukshys, who was wounded in the head. The given operation was supervised by Colonel Kustriuk.

January 12, 1991. Deputy Minister of Defence General Achalov arrived in Vilnius to supervise the actions of the army.

The Provisional Defence Committee (PDC) was formed by the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania in response to the use of military force. This committee supervises "the military, political and informational defence aimed at stopping the assaults and the war waged by the USSR against Lithuania.

January 11-12. On behalf of the Supreme Council and its President citizens were urged to defend Government buildings. The population responded to the urge and thousands of people went into the streets and surrounded the Government buildings. The biggest crowds assembled by the TV tower and the Parliament of the Republic.

At 10 p.m. CPL reserve member Colonel Shurupov, at the city Party committee, instructed about 400 representatives of fighters from "Worker" squads, who were brought by buses given at the request of the managing department of the CPL.

At about 12 p.m. representatives of the NSC brought a petition to the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania, in which it demanded the resignation of the Supreme Council and the imposition of presidential rule. At the same time the NSC decided to take the Radio and TV Centre and the TV tower under their control, "To support and defend the fighters of worker squads from the armed fighters of the State Defence Department (there were about 1500 of them in the Tower and they were armed with cold weapons and firearms as well as incendiary mixture bottles). The committee appealed for help to the Head of the Vilnius garrison. This help was granted. (Information agency of the Central Committee of CPL, January 14. 1991, Soviet Lithuania (Litva Sovietskaja), January 19, 1991).

We, the independent military experts, take all the responsibility for stating, that the above mentioned insinuations of the NSC-CPL are abominable lies. For paratrooper armies, internal

forces of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the USSR and the KGB of the USSR to start action by making use of the 1st group tanks resolution of the President of the USSR is obligatory.

January 13, 1991, 2 a.m. Buildings of the Committee and the TV tower were occupied. Recordings, made in advance by Jarmalavicius, were being broadcast from the tanks standing by the TV tower and the armored personnel carriers patrolling in the city, informing that the NSC was taking power into its hands.

It has also been announced that on behalf of the NSC a curfew was imposed from 6:30 on January 13 and that the Head of Vilnius Garrison Major-General Uschopchik had been appointed the military commandant of Vilnius.

On the same day when the military operation was over deputy Minister of Defence Colonel-General Varennikov arrived in Vilnius.

On the basis of the event chronology investigation, documents at our disposal, publications and materials, including the secret Decree of the Secretoriat of the Central Committee of the CPSU, Article 4/5, dated August 29, 1990 and signed by the Deputy General Secretary of the CC of the CPSU Ivashko "On the results of meetings and discussions with Party activists, communists and workers of the Lithuanian SSR, we, military experts have to come to the following conclusions:

1. The National Salvation Committee (NSC) - is a non-registered and actually existing social organisation which had been formed long before the events of January 11-13, 1991. The leaders of the NSC are people forming the nucleus of the CC of CPL and Commanders of Vilnius garrison. It was namely this fact that allowed the regiment commander Lieutenant - Colonel Astachov to declare: I knew many of them personally, had "meetings with them. Top guys." (Moscow News, January 27, 1990 N.4).

Thus, the leaders of the NSC and the leading nucleus of the CC of the CPL are one and the same people although now they do their best to deny it. The same conclusion can be arrived at by analysing "The Appeal of the NSC of the USSR dated January 15, 1991 and juxtaposing it with the "Chronicle of political crisis in Lithuania" prepared by the Information Agency of the CC of the CPL dated January 14, 1991 (Litva Sovietskaja, January 19,1991).

2. The NSC having arbitrarily usurped the functions of the Supreme power body in the Republic of Lithuania, on January 13, assisted by the military forces of the USSR to carry out a coup d'etat aimed at overthrowing the legally elected government.

This attempt, which resulted in many deaths of people and material and moral harm, failed. The most important reasons which prevented the successful carrying out of the coup are the following:

self - sacrifice of the Lithuanian people, irrespective of their nationality, who rose to defend their legally elected government and sacrifice, if necessary, their lives defending freedom and the independence of the Republic of Lithuania;

- urgent visit of the Chairman of the Supreme Council of the Russian Federation B. Yeltsin to the Baltic States and his joint activities with the leaders of the Baltic States aimed at stabilizing the political situation in the area. Having signed the treaty with the Government of Lithuania, the Goernment of Russia was empowered to defend the legal rights and interests of the Russian people in Lithuania;

- the negative response of the people of the world and governments of foreign countries.

3. The NSC which attempted to carry out a military coup at the expense of a great number of human lives, committed a grave state crime and therefore should be considered to be a criminal organisation.

The leaders and members of the NSC should be brought to trial for committing a grave state crime.

The analysis of documents, situation information level and actions enable to assume, that the leading nucleus of the NSC were the following persons: the 1st secretary of the CC of the CPL Burokevicius, secretary of the CC of the CPL Jarmalavicius, secretary of the CC of the CPL Major-General Naudziunas, Head of the Department of the CPL Reserve-Colonel Shurupov, 1st secretary of the CC of the Vilnius CP Committee of the CPL Lazutka, 2nd secretary of the Vilnius CP Committee of the CPL Chadunkin, secretary of the Party Committee of Radio Measurement Device Plant Dostal, and Head of Vilnius Garrison Major-General Uschopchik.

The fact that the leading nucleus of the CC of the CPL are the leaders of the NSC allows to state that on the basis of the Law of the Republic of Lithuania on political parties, the activists of the CPL should be suspended till the end of the investigation.

4. What is most appalling - is the ignorance, distortion of facts and the downright lies of the NSC members - CC of the CPL manifest in the NSC appeals and the information presented by the Information Agency of the CC of the CPL.

- a quotation from the NSC appeal: "The Soviet Army officer who accompanied the parliamentarians of the worker squads sent to the TV tower building...was shot in his back by a fighter who used an automatic gun."

- a quotation from a statement made by the Information Agency of the CC of the CPL; "at the moment when the administration of the TV centre was handed the ultimatum, the officer of the parliamentarian guards was shot in the back."

And the most appalling thing is that all of this "wild" evidence was concocted by one and the same author and included into the same issue of the newspaper "Litva Sovietskaja" dated January 19, 1991.

In fact, Lieutenant Shatshich, the officer of the special units of the 7th Department of the KGB of the USSR, was sent to assist the carrying out of the coup and was quite by chance wounded by his own people during the assault on the Radio and TV Committee.

Abusive attacks and threats to the legal authorities and leaders of the Republic of Lithuania (V.Lardsbergis - murderer N.1, fascist regime etc.) published in the CPL newspaper "Litva Sovietskaja" are aimed at escalating the political instability and impossibility of a dialogue and it points not only to the lack of respect of its readers - ordinary communists and military servicemen - but at the same time it shows that the ideas defended by the CPL are doomed to failure.

The degree of worker respect for the authorities of today's Republic of Lithuania was manifested during the opinion poll (plebiscite) on February 9, 1991.

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Army activities in preparing the assault and taking over of the Radio and TV Committee and the TV tower

Radio interception data allows us to state that Vilnius Garrison tank units were ready for action and fulfilling the tasks set by the Centre, and were waiting for a special signal. It proves that the actions of the army were planned and coordinated in advance.

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It goes without saying that the Head of the special department of the division, Rizov, was aware of the plans to use motorized division N.107 (it is his direct duty to know it because he has immediate contacts with the territorial organs of the KGB of the USSR, headed in the meantime by Major-General Caplin. Thus the information quite naturally had to be submitted to the Chairman of the KGB of the USSR, Kriuchkov and from him - to the president. There are no doubts that the Head of the political department of the division, Colonel Smokarev, who organized the expedient training of the soldiers for carrying out the operation, informed the member of the Military Council, Head of the military-political Department of the Baltic military region Lieutenant-General Novikov, who in his turn had to inform the Head of the General Military political Department of the North Army and Navy Colonel-General Shliage. The information had to be furthered to the Defence Minister and General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU. Feedback is quite natural here too.

Units of paratrooper division N. 76, dislocated in Pskov, supported by tank units of motorized division N.107, dislocated in Vilnius, assisted by the special unit of Department N.7 of the KGB of the USSR, occupied the buildings of the TV and Radio Committee and the TV tower in accordance with the plan worked out in advance. The total operation was supervised by the Deputy Defence Minister of the USSR Colonel-General Atchalov, while the actions of the tank units were supervised by Major-General Uschopchik. (The general map-plan of the army actions at the TV tower and deciphered radio-interception of the motorized unit department is supplemented).

No resistance by shooting from the civil population and the technicians who were in the tower was observed. Fire was opened only by the attacking army.

As a result, 13 people were killed (12 of them are civilians and one - a lieutenant of the KGB of the USSR. Investigating authorities informed that the army didn't arrest a single fighter possessing a firearm. No weapons stored there were found.

Statement made by the CC of the CPL information agency dated January 14, 1991 (newspaper "Litva Sovietskaja", January 19, 1991) to the effect that "already on the way to the TV tower the worker squads and the military servicemen were attacked by the people shooting from various sorts of firearms including automatic guns and grenades", is nothing more than invention and brutal disinformation that should be brought to trial in accordance with Article 36 of the Law on Press.

To raise panic and to disperse the crowd tanks were firing dummy cartridges, causing accoustic traumas to people. As is seen from the deciphered radio interceptions, tanks went on shooting even after repeated orders from the commander to stop fire.

Wounds caused by the firearms turned out to be made by 5.45 calibre bullets. Forensic medical examination shows that the 5.45 calibre bullets have structural peculiarities - their shells can split up into small fractions while their cores are separated from the shells. The fragment of the bullet was extracted from V. Vaitkus body - from the right pleural cavity; fragments' of the bullet shell were extracted from P. Juknevicius's thight ; fragments of the bullet were extracted from the body of Lieutenant Shatskich; blind bullet wound was found in V. Maciulevicius' body. Entrance aperture is on the skin of his left cheek, the wound canal proceeds along the lower jaw mouth diaphragm, left inner upper arteria carotica, left part of the left lung, the 6th - 7th neck vertebra, and the back brain canal. The wounds contained fragments of the bullet.

When the occupation raid was over paratrooper units were substituted by units of interior forces of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the USSR and the Vilnius garrison, which are still guarding the occupied buildings up to now. Much harm was done to buildings, equipment, inventory and the adjoining territories. Material property and personal belongings of the staff were stolen.

After the operation the President of the USSR issued a decree dated February 4, 1991 "on confering the Minister of Internal Affairs of the USSR Pugo the military rank of Colonel-General. Chief-commander of land forces Varennikov issued one more decree in which he extended his gratitude to the fighters of motorized division N. 107 for "brave and resolute actions. Their behavior should set an example to all soldiers of the land forces."

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Fragments of Radio interception on January 12-12
(word for word text)

January 12. 3.50.a.m.

"Zenit 22 ",it's "Zarevo11". over.
"Zenit 22" wants to talk to the very senior. Understood.
"Zarevo 11" I'm "Zenit 22" still waiting at the apparatus. Over.

January 13. 1.55.a.m.

"Uspech 19", I'm "Zenit 22", contact the neighbour, contact the neighbour.
Understood. Understood. Shall we make noise?
Yes,yes. We were allowed, it's me "Zenit 22".
"Zenit 22", its me "Plainer 17", "Bronia 2" is at the location, started the actions...
"Uspech 19", it's "Zenit 22", stop shooting.
It's me, "Zenit 22", who fired now? Stop shooting.
"Uspech 19", it's "Zenit 22". Stop shooting from the big boxes.
It's me, "Zenit 22". I insist on stopping fire from the tanks.
It's me, "Zenit 22". That's all. Go ahead! No shots from tanks.
Stand still. Then, when you speak on the radio - slow down, say it once again slowly.
"Zenit 22", it's "Barkas 28". I'm in the park, I'm in the park. Wait for your orders.
"Fara 16". People aren't leaving the location, they surrounded the BTR,s (armored personnel carriers).
"Zenit 22". Understood, stand still, close the hatches, go on observing and so on . Be ready to receive orders, stand still.
"Uspech 19", report the situation, in short, it's me, "Zenit 22". Over.
Haven't you got anybody under the treads? Over.
The answer is inaudible.
Understand. Start the vehicles and at slow speed move to the cantonment. Clear?
"Uspech"' it's me "Zenit". Switch on the headlights, just to see far away and slowly, slowly so as not to crush anybody, ahead!
"Zenit 22" answers to "Uspech 19".
O.K., O.K. So you go to the parking-lot, stand in the same fighting trim, shut off the vehicles, let them doze, only the motors must be shut off, be ready , you may get one more order...

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The full text of radio interception is in the General procecut
or's of the Republic of Lithuania.

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Victims of the attempted coup

According to official data submitted by the Health ministry of the Republic of Lithuania dated January 13, 1991, 13 people were killed:

9 pecple (8 civilians and 1 KGB lieutenent dressed in paratrooper

uniform) - from 5,45 bullet injuries
1 person - run over by tank treads (Loreta Asanaviciute, born 1967)
2 persons - run over by the armored personnel carriers wheels.
1 person - injured by an explosive.

In all cases statements of forensic medicine examinations were drawn up in full accordance with the existing jurisdiction.

Ill-intentioned statements to the effect that all bullet wounds were made specially on already dead bodies are denied by statements of forensic medical service who made the post-mortem examination (witnessed by the procecutors). The wound was not mortal. Had Shatskich been taken to the hospital in good time, his life could have been rescued.

There were no bullet wounds from the snipers, beacause 5,45 calibre bullets are not used in sniper-guns due to unstable ballistics of the bullets.

All in all 604 people have been wounded - 438 men and 166 women. Among them: 49 people - bullet wounds, 342 people - accoustic traumas (eardrum injuries due to dummy cartridge shc. from the tanks); 10 people - burns; 20 people - combined traumas; sundry wounds - 99 people, etc. On January 30, 30 people were still in hospitals.

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Legal estimation of the January 11-13 events

1. Anticonstitutional, criminal activities of the NSC (National Salvation Committee), in fact, of the Central Committee of CPL directly violate articles 137 and 148 of the Constitution of the USSR. Formation of the NSC violate the Constitution of the USSR, Article 7, Part 2. According to the article in question, the NSC must be disbanded without further delay by the authorities of the Republic of Lithuania or those of the USSR and its members should be brought to trial for their criminal activities.

2. Activities of Defence Minister Jazov, Interior Minister Pugo and Chairman of the KGB Kriutschov, who facilitated the use of the Soviet Army , military units of the Ministry of Internal affairs of the USSR and the KGB against unarmed citizens of the Republic of Lithuania at request of the unconstitutional criminal social organization are criminal. They were able to stop

the activities of the NSC at any moment bacause sattelite communication was set for direct reports to the Government of the USSR.

3. Activities of Achalov, Uschopchik, Kustriuk and Astachov who supervised their respective armed units in effecting the criminal schemes of the NSC - Central Committee of CPL are criminal.

Soldiers, sergeants and officers who fired at peaceful people should be brought to trial as well.

Besides, Major-general Uschopcik, who was appointed the military commandant of the Vilnius garrison by the NSC must be brought to trial for the illegal imposition of curfew and the use of firearms by patrols which caused the death of J. Tautkus on January 29.

4. The President of the USSR ignored the resolution of the Federation Council unanimuosly adopted on the very eve of the tragedy, which prohibited the use of armed force in setting the political conflicts. Thus the principles so persistently advocated by the President - respect for law and constitutional governments - have been violated.

The President of the USSR in spite of the requirements of the Constitution of the USSR, (Article 127, Part 4,) didn't prevent the anti-constitutional activities of the Defence Minister of the USSR, the Interior Minister of the USSR and the Chairman of the KGB of the USSR, who gave permission to their subornates to carry out the coup in the Republic of Lithuania.

The President of the USSR, having heard the reports of Pugo and Jazov in the session of the Supreme Council of the USSR, had to disavow such statements constitutionally and legally, and without further delay to discharge them from the posts they hold. The President did not do that. More than that, he issued a decree to confer to Pugo the military rank of Colonel- General.

The President of the USSR didn't stop anticonstitutional activities of the NSC at the moment of its formation and its first steps in preparing a coup in the Republic of Lithuania.

The President of the USSR didn't prove to be a "Guarantor of adhering to the rights and freedoms of Soviet citizens, the Constitution and the Law of the USSR".

Following the presumption that the Republic of Lithuania constitutes a part of the USSR, the President of the USSR didn't fulfill his direct constitutional duty during the attempted coup in Vilnius.

Following the assumption that the Republic of Lithuania does not constitute a part of the USSR, the use of the Armed Forces of the USSR in the Republic of Lithuania on January 11-13 should be considered an act of aggression against the state in question in accordance with the definition of aggression adopted by the General Assembly of the UN in 1974.

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Independent military experts estimate the activities of the NSC in line with the Constitution of the USSR, because the NSC and the CPL recognize only the Constitution of the USSR and do not recognize the Laws of the Republic of Lithuania.

Conclusions and Recommendations

On the basis of the investigation, the Independent Military Experts arrived at the following conclusions:

1. On January 11-13, in Vilnius, an attempt was made to stage a coup d'etat with the aid of the armed forces, the internal troops of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs and of the KGB with the aim of restoring the political power of the CPSU as represented by its constituent part -- the CPL.

The USSR President cannot claim ignorance of the planned joint actions by the Soviet Armed Forces, the internal troops of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs and of the USSR KGB. Such actions could not be carried out without his personal permission.

2. The participation of USSR military units in the coup d'etat had been planned, coordinated and approved by the Centre.

3. The organiser of the coup d'etat was the CPL Central Committee.

4. For carrying out its designs, the CPL Central Committee established the so-called "National Salvation Committee" whose membership and leaders are being kept secret so that in the event of failure they could evade responsibility. Secretary of the CPL Central Committee Jarmalavicius, authorised to maintain

contact between the National Salvation Committee and the Vilnius garrison, is the only officially known person linked to the National Salvation Committee.

The Independent Military Experts consider that the following persons constituted the nucleus of the National Salvation Committe: first secretary of the CPL CC Burokevicius, Secretary of the CPL CC Jarmalavicius, Secretary of the CPL Major-General Naudziunas, head of the department of the CPL CC and colonel in the reserves of the the USSR Army Shurupov, First Secretary of the Vilnius City Committee of the CPL Lazutka, Second Secretary of the Vilnius City Committee of the CPL Khadunkin, Secretary of the CPL primary organisation of the Vilnius radio factory Dostal, and military commander of the Vilnius garrison Major-General Uskhopchik.

5. The National Salvation Committee and the CPL had counted on the support of the people dissatisfied with deteriorating living conditions, as well as the Russian-speaking population and the military, whose rights had been curtailed by certain laws of the Republic of Lithuania. With this aim in view, members of the CPL had carried out deliberate agitation and ideological propaganda. Political bodies and CPSU organisations had carried out analogous propaganda in military units and among family members of the military.

In this way an atmosphere of ill-will and animosity was artificially created between the native population and the army. At the present time the Government of the Republic of Lithuania is using all its energies to improve relations with the army units stationed on the territory of the Republic, and to normalise the situation. However, military commanders categorically refuse to establish contact.

6. Convinced of its victory and impunity, the National Salvation Committee, relying upon military units of the Vilnius garrison, units of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs and the KGB sent to Lithuania by the Centre, attempted to stage a coup d'etat, which caused great casualties among civilians and significant material damage.

7. There is no evidence to indicate the usage of arms on the part of civilians and guards of public buildings. Shots were fired only by the military. As a result, 13 people were killed and 604 injured. All the victims were civilians. Among 13 killed was a lieutenant of the USSR KGB who was accidentally wounded by his own men and died because the military did not render him timely qualified medical aid.

8. The military used 5.45 calibre dum-dum bullets that greatly increase the sufferings of the wounded and are banned under international conventions.

9. The coup d'etat was aborted by the people of Lithuania who rose in defense of their lawfully elected government. The results of the population poll held on February 9, 1991 emphatically and convincingly testified to the choice of the people of the Republic of Lithuania.

10. Responsible for the attempt to stage the coup d'etat, and for the numerous victims and material damage are:

1) The USSR President, who failed to perform his constitutional duty;

2) Minister of Defense Yazov, Minister of Internal Affairs Pugo, and Chairman of the USSR KGB Kryuchkov who gave permission to use the military forces under their command in pursuing anti-constitutional, criminal goals;

3) Deputy Minister of Defense Colonel-General Atchalov, military commander of the Vilnius garrison Major-General Uskhopchik, regiment commander of the Paratrooper Forces Colonel Kustriuk, regiment commander of the 107th Motorised Rifle Division Colonel Astakhov, who directed the actions of the troops under their command in carrying out the criminal designs of the National Salvation Committee and CPL Central Committee;

4) Soldiers, sergeants and officers who shot at civilians.

11. The USSR President, the USSR Ministry of Defense, the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, the USSR KGB and the CPL are responsible for the material damage caused to the Republic of Lithuania, its state institutions, as well as to legal and natural people of the Republic.

12. The National Salvation Committee is an unconstitutional, criminal organisation, the activities of which must be banned, and proceedings must be instituted against its members for having committed an especially grave crime against the state.

13. Taking into account direct contact between the members of the National Salvation Committee and the CPL in carrying out the coup d'etat, the activity of the CPL must be suspended until the end of the investigation.

14. Central newspapers, radio and Central Television gave a biased interpretation of the January 11-13 events in Vilnius, adhering to the stand of the CPSU and CPL.

15. It would be expedient to repeal the laws restricting the rights of the Russian-speaking population, of the military and of their family members.

16. Taking into account the current political situation, when the laws of the USSR are not being enforced on the territory of the Republic of Lithuania, whereas the laws adopted by the legislative body of the Republic run counter to the laws of the USSR, it is necessary to work out a special provisional legal document protecting the rights, honour, dignity and property of the military and their family members until an appropriate agreement between the USSR and the Republic of Lithuania is concluded.

17. For the coordination of efforts between republics aimed at protecting their sovereignty, political and economic independence from the dictate of the Centre, and for the coordination of joint actions in situations analogous to the January 11-13 events in Lithuania, horizontal agreements between the republics enabling them to resist this dictate should be concluded.

18. In order to maintain state sovereignty and to enforce law and order, it is necessary to form national guard units in the republics.

19. The Supreme Councils of the republics must adopt legislation defining the notion of a "criminal order" and establishing that legal proceedings may be instituted for executing such an order.

20. The events in Vilnius rank with other cases when the Soviet Army was used against its own people: in Novocherkask in 1962, in Tbilisi in 1989, in Baku in 1990.

21. The events of January 11-13 are not related to any international conflicts and are of a purely political character. The events showed that:

the Party leadership is striving to turn the Soviet Army into a hostage of its criminal political designs and its soldiers -- into mindless and submissive executors;

depolitisation of the Armed Forces, the Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the KGB of the USSR is an objective necessity, and must be carried out without delay;

all nationalities are equally endangered by the plot hatched by the party and military leadership who are striving to retain power by all possible means, impudently violating laws and condemning people to poverty, hunger and death.

The Independent Military Experts deem it their duty to bring these Conclusions to the notice of the People's Deputies of the USSR and of the RSFSR, other republics and the world community, governments of foreign states and the United Nations Organisation.

Independent Military Experts

Captain of 1st rank in the reserves
of the Army of the USSR, Ph.D.(Engineering),
People's Deputy — A.Yevstigneyev

Lieutenant-colonel in the reserves
of the USSR Army — I.Bychkov

Colonel,
People's Deputy — S.Kudinov

Capitain of the 2nd rank in the reserves,
doctor of law, professor of Law — G.Melkov

Major in the reserves
of the USSR Army — N.Moskovchenko

February 11, 1991
Vilnius
Republic of Lithuania

CHRONICLE OF OFFENCES COMMITTED BY USSR ARMED FORCES ON THE TERRITORY OF THE REPUBLIC OF LITHUANIA

7 January - 25 April 1991

Office of the President
Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania

May 1991

Chronicle of Offences Committed by USSR Armed Forces on the Territory of the Republic of Lithuania

The following document is a chronicle of recorded instances of Soviet military actions in the Republic of Lithuania, 7 January through 25 April 1991, which resulted in material damages, injuries, and loss of human life. The chronicle is based on reports submitted to the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania by the Procuracy General of Lithuania under the leadership of Procurator General Artūras Paulauskas, official news releases of the Supreme Council Bureau of Information, reports from the Ministry of Health of the Republic of Lithuania, and information provided by the Lithuanian Television and Radio Committee.

This chronicle is an informal report on Soviet military actions, and is published at this time to provide practical information in English on these actions until detailed conclusions are released by investigators of the Procuracy General. Certain reports which have not produced more substantial evidence have been excluded from this chronicle. Updates will be published as new information is made available.

* * *

1991

7 January

Bureau of Information release: At 14:30 today, President of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania, Vytautas Landsbergis, acquired information by telephone from the Commander of the USSR Military Forces deployed in the Baltic States, General Fyodor Kuzmin, that, in accordance with orders issued by USSR Defense Minister Dmitri Yazov, conscription of youths by force into the Soviet Army is beginning in Lithuania. A special division of paratroopers will be used to execute this order.

8 January

At approximately 17:30, a green ambulance with 6 men in civilian clothes (one of whom spoke Lithuanian) arrived at Šimonys village (Kupiškis district), and abducted Linas Černiauskas (born 1970), who had left service in the Soviet Army. Mr. Černiauskas had voluntarily entered the Soviet Army in July, 1990, but, after his mother had taken ill, returned home. Mr. Černiauskas later returned to service once more, but later ended his term in the army voluntarily. A criminal case regarding the abduction of Mr. Černiauskas has been opened by the Kupiškis municipal procuracy. (Article 131, Lithuanian Criminal Code).

11 January

Soviet military attacks and occupies the Lithuanian Press House, a facility which publishes and prints the greater majority of newspapers currently in circulation. Large crowds gathered in defense of the building witness the assault. Several civilians are beaten, and one man is shot in the face. (see Procuracy reports below)

Bureau of Information release no. 016: At 11:50, Director of the National Defence Department, Mr. Audrius Butkevičius, informed the Bureau of Information that the National Defence Department building in Virsuliškės (suburb of Vilnius) was taken over by armed forces of the Soviet military. Shots were fired at employees. No one was injured as the employees were fired upon and ejected from the building. According to reports by the Procuracy General, representatives from the investigations department of the Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Lithuania were not allowed to examine the building. All materials and information regarding this matter are conveyed to the office of the Procurator General.

The National Defence Department is located at Kostiuškos Street 36.

*Procuracy General official information:*On 11 January, at approximately 12:15 p.m., on Kosmonautų Prospect in Vilnius, during the seizure of the Press House, V. Lukšys and Kvickauskas received gunshot wounds to the face, A. Vaitiukas received a gunshot wound in the leg, and assaulted was J. Kaziniauskas, who in hospital was diagnosed as having suffered a brain concussion.

On January 11, at approximately 12:55 p.m., in the intersection of Žalgirio and Rinktinės streets in Vilnius, Soviet army tank No. 511 entered the oncoming traffic lane and collided with a ZIL-130 truck, driven by J. Zaunys. Zaunys suffered broken bones and was put in hospital.

12 January

Bureau of Information release No. 027: At approximately 01:00 this morning, paratroopers broke the windows of the main National Defence Department building in Vilnius, stormed in, and soon left with the Department's paperwork. The two employees who were inside were beaten with riot sticks, though they are not hurt badly. The offices inside are almost completely demolished, there is evidence of explosions.

Bureau of Information release No. 028: A military driving school on the outskirts of Vilnius was stormed by paratroopers and demolished inside at approximately 02:00 this morning. There is no apparent reason for this action.

Bureau of Information release No. 030: At approximately 03:00 a special unit of the Lithuanian police on the outskirts of Vilnius (in Valakampiai) was taken over by special Soviet paratroops. About twenty armored vehicles surrounded the building, special unit soldiers stormed into the yard and sliced telephone wires, cutting off all communications. Four officers out of about forty were able to escape through a window.

Vilnius municipal IAD receives written complaint from a Mr. Kvickauskas, stating that, during the military attack on the Press House, he was wounded in the face by a plastic bullet.

Vilnius municipal IAD receives written complaint from Mr. A. Vaicjukas, stating that during the military attack on the Press House, he was wounded in the foot.

Vilnius municipal IAD receives written complaint from Mr. V. Lukšys, stating that, during the military attack on the Press House, he received a bullet wound to the face.

Vilnius municipal IAD receives written complaint from Mr. J. Kariniauskas, stating that he was beaten on 11 January during the military attack on the Press House.

At 11:10, on the Druskininkai-Pariečė highway, Varėna district, armed soldiers attack a National Defence Department guardpost, confiscating equipment and the guardpost trailer. Damages amount to eight thousand rubles. The Druskininkai municipal procuracy opens a criminal case on 25 January 1991 (Art. 92, LCC).

At 17:40, uniformed soldiers enter the offices of the Hunting and Fishing Association in Vilnius (Stikliai St. 6-8), and, wielding machine guns, break into the society's weapons storage closet and steal eight hunting rifles as well as a list of the society's members. Criminal case opened by the Vilnius municipal procuracy.

Soviet army soldiers attack and occupy the former Central Committee building of the Voluntary Association for the Support of the [Soviet] Army, Air Force and Navy (DOSAAF in Russian) in Vilnius (Basanavičiaus St. 15), which was being used by Lithuanian government agencies as a storage facility. Representatives of the Vilnius municipal Internal Affairs Department are not allowed to examine the scene. All materials and information regarding this case are conveyed to the office of the Procurator General.

A Soviet army tank, having blatantly violated traffic regulations, runs into and crushes a ZIL-130 truck (corner of Tuskulėnai and Žalgirinio Streets), and severely injures the truck's driver. Criminal case opened by the Vilnius municipal IAD (Art. 246, paragraph 2, LCC).

Vilnius municipal IAD receives complaint from Mr. V. Palkevičius, stating that his VAZ-2109 automobile had been stolen. Further investigation reveals that the theft was committed by Soviet army soldier V. B. Mackevich (unit no. 71464), born 1971. Criminal case opened by the Vilnius municipal IAD (Art. 250, paragraph 1, LCC).

*Procuracy General official information:*On 12 January, at approximately 2:00 p.m., in Ziberto street in Kaunas, a GAZ-66 automobile from military unit No. 10999, in violation of traffic regulations, was unable to avoid a collision with an automobile being driven by L. Gerulis. One civilian death and injuries to three others resulted.

13 January

Soviet army tank units, violating traffic regulations, damage automobiles and state-owned transportation vehicles along Sudervė Street, in Vilnius: a car belonging to the Trakai municipal highway patrol (make: IZ-27-15, license no. 8216 LLU) - damages = 1,525 rbl.; 5 automobiles belonging to the Vilnius special automobile factory (make: ZIL-130 and GAZ-51) - damages = 10 thousand rbl.; an automobile belonging to the Vilnius municipal IAD (make: VAZ-2108) - damages = 8,300 rbl.; a private car belonging to Mr. J. Juškauskas, damages = 2,000 rbl.; and a private car belonging to Mr. V. Ravaitis (make: Moskvich-412) - damages unknown. Total number of vehicles damaged = nine. Total damages = approx. 11,825 rbl.

Vilnius municipal IAD opens criminal case on 13 January (Art. 99, paragraph 2, LCC).

Soviet army soldiers attack and occupy a branch of the Police Academy training center of the Republic of Lithuania, in Valakampiai (suburb of Vilnius). Criminal case opened (Art. 234, paragraph 1, LCC). Investigation is conducted by the Criminal Investigations Department of the Procuracy General of the Republic of Lithuania.

At approximately 01:30, a military column of tanks and armored vehicles departs the Northern Barracks military base. The caravan divides, with one column moving toward the Vilnius television tower in the suburb of Karoliniškės, the other heading for the Lithuanian Radio and Television Committee building (Konarskio Street, central Vilnius). Paratrooper divisions are dispatched from the armored troop carriers, and, with the support of tanks and armored vehicles, begin shooting and assaulting the television buildings, where employees of Lithuanian television were still working. Large crowds of unarmed civilians had gathered at both buildings to defend them against a possible Soviet attack. Advancing on the tower with tanks and a shower of bullets, the soldiers kill thirteen civilians. During the time of the attack on the tower, a Soviet soldier is also mortally wounded from "friendly fire." Many are wounded during the military take-over of the Radio and Television Committee building as well.

The following is a list of casualties provided by the Procuracy General of the Republic of Lithuania:

1. Algimantas Petras Kavoliukas, 51, resident of Vilnius, employed as a butcher in a Vilnius suburb grocery store. First to die during the attack on the television tower. Mr. Kavoliukas was killed on Sudervė street, as he tried to block a moving tank. The tank hit Mr. Kavoliukas, and drove him into a nearby sand container. On 11 January 1991, Mr. Kavoliukas was among the civilians defending the Press House against a similar Soviet assault. During the attack he received wounds from a blow to the head by a rubber truncheon. According to reports from his spouse, Mr. Kavoliukas was determined to go to the television tower, as he was convinced that the tanks would not attack unarmed civilians. Mr. Kavoliukas was the father of three children. The oldest, Gintaras, had returned from service in the Soviet army on 13 January 1991, hours after the death of his father.

2. Loreta Asanavičiūtė, 23, resident of Vilnius, employed as a seamstress in the "Dovana" souvenir company. Died from severe injuries after she fell under an advancing tank. Ms. Asanavičiūtė was accompanied by her friend, Ms. L. Trucilauskaitė, who also suffered severe injuries after she was caught under the same tank treads.

3. Rolandas Jankauskas, 22, resident of Vilnius. Mr. Jankauskas had returned from service in the Soviet army one month prior to his death. Death from severe injuries after falling under an advancing tank. Mr. Jankauskas came to the tower with his brother and Ms. Gražina Veikutytė. According to Ms. Veikutytė, she and Mr. Jankauskas fell to the ground after hearing tank fire, and seconds later she said she felt a tank roll by them.

4. Alvydas Kanapinskas, 38, resident of Kėdainiai, employed in the Kėdainiai "Progresas" factory. According to paramedics, Mr. Kanapinskas died near the television tower at 02:10. Death from bullet wounds to the lungs.

5. Vytautas Vaitkus, 47, resident of Vilnius, employed as a plumber in a Vilnius meat plant. Death from bullet wounds to the heart and lungs received at the television tower.

6. Darius Gerbutavičius, 17, resident of Vilnius, high school student. Death from bullet wounds to the right lung, right thigh and lower leg.

7. Vidas Maciulevičius, 24, resident of Vilnius, locksmith. Death from bullet wounds to the face, neck and spine.

8. Apolinaras Juozas Povilaitis, 53, resident of Vilnius, locksmith. Death from bullet wounds to the heart, right lung, upper arm, and thigh.

9. Virginijus Druskis, 21, resident of Vilnius, university student. Death from bullet wounds to the heart and lungs.

10. Ignas Šimulionis, 17, resident of Vilnius, high school student. Died alongside Darius Gerbutavičius, from bullet wounds to the head.

11. Titas Masiulis, 28, resident of Kaunas. Friends report having seen Mr. Masiulis trying to wave off an advancing tank. Death from bullet wounds to the heart and lungs.

12. Rimantas Jukn evičius, 24, university student. Severe injuries from bullet wounds and severe burns, resulting in death several hours later in hospital. Accompanied to the tower by friends from the Kaunas University of Technology, who witnessed the attack.

13. Alvydas Matulka, 35, death from heart attack after witnessing the assault on the tower.

14. Soviet soldier Viktor Viktorovich Shatskikh, 30, death from bullet wounds.

According to the Procuracy General of the Republic of Lithuania, over six hundred persons suffered from a wide range of injuries as a result of the Soviet assault on the television tower and TV and Radio Committee building. Injuries ranged from bullet wounds, broken bones, and acoustic trauma for persons standing near tanks as they shot blanks to disperse crowds. Some injuries also resulted from the detonation of canisters containing an unidentified gas. Many persons were reported missing by friends and relatives in the first forty-eight hours after the assault. After several days, all but two of the missing had been accounted for.

As a result of the Soviet occupation of the main television facilities, more than 400 radio and television employees remain without normal working conditions. A temporary television facility was established at the Lithuanian parliament building, with a broadcast radius encompassing the city of Vilnius and its environs. Smaller television stations in major cities throughout Lithuania began transmission in January, and continue to rebroadcast Vilnius transmissions as well as local programming to all points in the country.

Recently, a group of evicted radio and television employees began a hunger-strike outside the Soviet-occupied Radio and Television Committee building, petitioning for its return to the Lithuanian government. The strike continues to this day.

*Procuracy General official information:*On 13 January, at approximtely 2:00 p.m., on the Vilnius-Kaunas road in the Trakai Region, during the course of filming a moving column of military armoured vehicles, A. Zrelskis received a gunshot wound, and an automobile belonging to A. Bublaitis was damaged by gunfire.

14 January

Bureau of Information release no. 034: This morning at 11:45, paratroopers barged into the local radio communications building at Gedimino Ave. 34 (central Vilnius), ordering all employees to leave. The building is presently surrounded by soldiers.

Vilnius municipal procuracy begins official criminal investigation proceedings concerning the occupation of the Press House (Article 274, LCC). The investigation is led by procurator Levickas, Criminal Investigations Department, Vilnius municipal procuracy. Complaints regarding injuries from the attack are also included in this investigation.

Procuracy General receives report that, at approximately 14:00 on 13 January, Mr. A. Zrelskis received a bullet wound to the foot while he was attempting to film a moving column of armed vehicles on the Vilnius-Kaunas highway. A car belonging to Mr. A. Bublaitis (VAZ-21011) was also shot at by the same military caravan.

15 January

Vilnius municipal procuracy receives written complaint from Mr. A. Fedoseyev, stating that, on 14 January 1991, Soviet army soldiers, armed with machine guns, attacked him near the electricity net facility at Gedimino Ave. 36, and stole a BETA-CAM SR video camera belonging to the French television company TF-1, which had been filming in Vilnius from 10 January. Criminal case opened by the Vilnius municipal IAD (Art. 148, paragraph 2, LCC).

16 January

Vilnius municipal procuracy receives written complaint from Mr. R. Dubickas, stating that on 14 January 1991, he was abducted by Soviet soldiers on Šeškinė Street in Vilnius, taken to military command, beaten, and held for forty-eight hours. On 16 January 1991, Mr. Dubickas was blindfolded, tied and driven out of Vilnius, and later was thrown out of a car along the Vilnius-Kaunas highway. Mr. Dubickas suffered severe injuries. Dubickas later tells procuracy officials that fourteen more people were held under arrest at the military command at that time, and were also beaten and driven outside of Vilnius. Criminal case openraised on 21 January 1991 by the Vilnius municipal procuracy (Art. 111, paragraph 1, LCC). Investigation conducted by R. Savickas.

At 18:00, in the Ukmergė suburb of Pašilė, Soviet military armored vehicles block the road to a passing highway patrol car. Soldiers disarm the militia inside the car, confiscate their identification cards, and destroy the car's short-wave radio. Criminal case opened by the Ukmergė district procuracy on 25 January 1991 (Art. 214, LCC).

17 January

Bureau of Information release no. 051: The National Defence Department of the Republic of Lithuania informed the Bureau of Information that at "17:30 today military personnel began a violent, mass hunt for youths (who have either used their rights as Lithuanian citizens to leave service of a foreign army, or have not answered the Soviet draft)." According to the National Defence Department, at least eleven kidnapings of youths [have occurred] in Vilnius alone today.

18 January

Bureau of Information release no. 059: Yesterday a car of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania, [transporting member of parliament Vidmantas Povilionis], was stopped by an armed military patrol. Deputy Povilionis issued the following statement to the Procurator General of the Republic of Lithuania: "On 17 January 1991, at about 22:10, on the Vilnius-Kaunas highway, a car of the Supreme Council was stopped near the Gariūnai intersection. In violation of immunity [accorded all parliamentarians], I was threatened with a weapon, forced to get out of the car and was detained for about 2.5 hours, together with my driver and a few highway patrol officers, in the cold with our hands held up behind our heads. ... We were brutally brought onto the floor of a military truck and taken to military headquarters, where we were interrogated and eventually released."

24 January

Vilnius municipal procuracy receives written statement from Ms. L. Liaudanskaitė, stating that, at 03:40 on 22 January 1991, on Giedraičių Street in Vilnius, Soviet soldiers abducted two draft-age men. Investigation begun by Vilnius municipal IAD.

Vilnius municipal IAD receives written complaint from Mr. A. Bakžėnas, stating that on that same day, at approximately 17:40, Soviet soldiers stopped him as he was driving along Savanorių Avenue. The soldiers checked Mr. Bakžėnas' documents, and allowed him to drive on. Having driven one hundred meters, the driver saw an armored vehicle driving alongside, which began to fire at Mr. Bakžėnas' automobile. Damage was done to the automobile. Criminal case opened by the Vilnius municipal procuracy on 25 January 1991 (Art. 75, LCC). Investigation conducted by K. Betingas.

25 January

Three members of the Supreme Council Security department are arrested as they try to retrieve an automobile damaged earlier in a shooting incident. S.Steponavičius, D.Matulaitis and G.Macėnas have been taken and detained at the Northern Barracks military base.

Bureau of Information release no. 073: After 01:00, the Bureau of Information received reports that foreign correspondents who had been on their way to [cover Soviet actions near the Northern Barracks] were abducted by the Soviet military. This was confirmed when at approximately 02:00 the Bureau received a call from Brian Killon, "Reuters" correspondent based in Moscow, saying that he had just returned from the Northern Barracks base where he was held with Marcus Warren of the *London Daily Telegraph* and Anatol Lieven of the London *Times*, as well as other Lithuanians. The three correspondents had found two people to drive them to the scene of [earlier] shootings, but before they actually reached the [site], they were stopped by military personnel, ejected from their automobiles at gunpoint, and loaded onto a military truck. According to the correspondents, there were already three people inside the

truck, a few of which they recognized as having seen before in the parliament building. The correspondents and the three men (later identified as the arrested Supreme Council Security department personnel) were interrogated. The journalists reported that the Supreme Council Security department personnel were severely beaten.

Vilnius municipal IAD receives written complaint from Mr. M. Pleckavicius, stating that, at 17:30 on 24 January 1991, he was stopped by soldiers on Savanorių Avenue, beaten, and driven to military command. He was later released. This case is included in the investigation of similar events of 24 January (see above).

Vilnius municipal IAD receives written complaint from Soviet APN Novosti press agency correspondent Mr. N. Baranauskas, stating that, at 22:45 on 24 January 1991, on Geležinio Vilko Street, he was stopped by Soviet soldiers, beaten, and his Nikon FM-2 camera was stolen. Investigation begun by the Vilnius municipal IAD.

Vilnius municipal IAD registers complaint from a Mr. Baikštis, manager of the "Spauda" publishing company's central warehouse, stating that, at 13:30 on 23 January 1991, approximately twenty armed soldiers entered the warehouse (Kirtimų St. 55), and occupied the building. Militia arriving on the scene were not permitted to enter the warehouse territory. Criminal case opened by the Vilnius municipal IAD on 28 January 1991 (Art. 178, paragraph 2, LCC).

26 January

Vilnius municipal procuracy receives written complaint from Mr. R. Vaitkevicius, stating that, on 24 January 1991, as he and two other men (Steponavicius and Balnis) attempted to retrieve an automobile belonging to the Supreme Council Security department damaged by Soviet soldiers, they were stopped by soldiers, beaten, and taken to the Northern Barracks military base. Later, they were driven to military command and released only on 25 January.

Similar complaints of violent acts by Soviet soldiers on this day were received from Mr. S. Steponavicius, Mr. J. Balnis, Mr. Z. Slušnys, Mr. Matuliauskas, Mr. G. Terleckas, Mr. R. Aukstuolis, and Mr. S. Skiudulas. Mr. Slušnys later told procuracy officials that, while being held at the Northern Barracks base, a Soviet general demanded that he confess to shooting at a military caravan, and that this confession would be filmed by journalists from the Soviet television program "Vremya." After Mr. Slušnys refused to comply, his hands were tied and he was driven to the military command, where he was held until 26 January 1991. Slušnys suffered severe injuries, and remained in critical condition for some time after the incident.

These events are included in a general investigation of events of 24 January 1991 (see above).

After the events of January 24, 1991, when six men were captured by soldiers of the Soviet military unit in Vilnius, three employees of the Supreme Council Security department and a driver are still in the hospital. Following is the medical data on their conditions:

MATULAITIS DARIUS (driver) Brought into the hospital at 3:50 p.m.
1. Light degree cerebral trauma
2. Fractured nasal bones
3. Multiple face and head bruises
4. Bruises of the back and the thorax

STEPONAVIČIUS SAULIUS Brought into the hospital 3:50 p.m.
1. Medium degree cerebral trauma
2. Fractured left side of the skull base (suspected)
3. Blood outpouring under the covers of the Cerebrum (suspected)
4. Multiple head and face bruises

5. Laceration of the back of the nose (patient received stitches)
6. Traumatic tear of the left eardrum and bruise on the left ear
7. Beating of the right thorax, beating of the left thigh, bruises and lacerations of the left shin

MACĖNAS GINTARAS Brought into the hospital at 8:30 p.m.
1. Medium degree cerebral trauma
2. Fractured right side of the skull base
3. Laceration of the lower lip
4. Multiple head and face bruises
5. Traumatic tear of the right eardrum

27 January

Vilnius municipal IAD receives written complaint from Mr. A. Šalkinas, stating that, at 01:00 on that same day, as he was driving along the Vilnius-Kaunas highway near the town of Gariūnai, he was stopped by soldiers who checked his documents, and then began shooting a series of bullets into the pavement. Mr. Šalkinas was wounded in the foot by a stray bullet. Investigation conducted by the Vilnius municipal procuracy.

At approximately 19:20, ten men, armed with automatic weapons and dressed in black uniforms, attack the Lithuanian customs post at the border town of Lavoriškiai (Lithuanian-Byelorussian border). The men search the customs officers, beat three of them, and destroy equipment in the post booth. Criminal case opened on 28 January 1991 by the Vilnius municipal procuracy (Art. 203, paragraph 2, LCC).

At approximately 20:30, ten men in two UAZ automobiles attack the Lithuanian customs post in Medininkai (Lithuanian-Byelorussian border). Two customs officers are beaten, and damages are done to equipment. Criminal case opened on 28 January 1991 by the Vilnius district procuracy (Art. 203, paragraph 2, LCC).

28 January

Vilnius municipal procuracy receives written complaint from Mr. R. Brazevich and Mr. V. Brazevich, stating that at approximately 20:00 on 26 January 1991 on Savanorių Ave., they were stopped by soldiers wielding weapons, forced to lie on the ground, and were beaten with rifle butts and kicked repeatedly for no apparent reason. The injured were then driven to military command, were held over night, and only released the next morning. V. Brazevich suffered from serious injuries. Investigation being conducted by the Vilnius municipal procuracy.

29 January

Bureau of Information release No. 088: At 02:15, Mr. Jonas Tautkus (born 1970, a resident of Vilnius), was brought to the hospital from the Vilnius-Kaunas highway with a bullet wound to the back of the head. Dr. Alvydas Pauliukevičius performed surgery on Tautkus, but did not retrieve the bullet from the brain. Ms. Danguolė Kaladienė, head of the intensive care department, later told the Bureau of Information that Tautkus "has no chance of survival."

According to a report by the Procuracy General, several witnesses who had brought Mr. Tautkus to the hospital explained that he had been shot by soldiers near the Gariūnai (Vilnius suburb) gasoline station. An investigation into the incident has begun.

Bureau of Information release No. 091: The following report was issued today by the Ministry of Health of the Republic of Lithuania: [To date], 580 people had reported to hospitals and clinics for injuries [received during the Soviet military assault on the television tower and Radio and Television Committee building], 152 of these women. The hearing of 312 was impaired, 122 suffered from multiple injuries, 46 were injured by bullets, 10 were burn victims. One hundred and ten were treated in hospitals, 31 are still hospitalized, and the condition of one is still critical. ... From 20 January to today, thirteen injured men have reported to hospitals and clinics [as a result of continuing Soviet assaults on civilians – ed.]. Two of those men suffer from bullet wounds. Nine are still being treated in hospitals for serious head injuries, one [Jonas Tautkus – ed.] is in critical condition.

Procuracy General official information: On 29 January at 12:50 a.m. near the Gariūnai bridge in Vilnius, soldiers opened fire on an automobile owned by G. Žiura. The automobile suffered four bullet holes. There were no injuries.

30 January

Bureau of Information release No. 095: The Ministry of Health reports that at 14:25 today Jonas Tautkus died in the First Clinical Hospital in Vilnius of a bullet lodged in the brain.

2 February

According to a Ministry of Health statement, on 1 February 1991 Valdas Puzinas, 22, was beaten by four soldiers in Lukiškių square. On requesting him to produce documents, the soldiers began beating him on the head with automatic rifle butts. He lost consciousness and when he came back to himself, they were gone. The youth was taken to the Red Cross hospital and diagnosed as suffering from dislocated jaw-bone and a fractured brow-bone.

Procuracy General official information: On 2 February at approximately 10:00 p.m. at the Manto Street bus stop in Klaipėda, five soldiers assaulted D. Ubartaitė, V. Ubartas and V. Loktevas.

16 February

Procuracy General official information: At about 6:00 a.m. on the road near the town of Druskininkai, Soviet Army soldiers shot up an automobile belonging to A. Pauža. The front windshield of the automobile was damaged. There were no injuries.

18 February

The Ministry of Health reports that at 05:15, Mr. Vytautas Koncevičius, from Kėdainiai, suffering from bullet wounds received during the Soviet military assault on the television tower, died in hospital, bringing the death toll from Soviet attacks to sixteen.

26 February

Procuracy General official information: On 26 February at about 9:30 p.m. Soviet Army soldiers conducted an illegal search of the television retransmission tower in Plungė. Having found nothing, they cut telephone lines and left. The soldiers claimed they were searching for weapons.

8 March

Bureau of Information release No.154: On 7 March at approximately 1 a.m., two employees of the State Intelligence Department of the Republic of Lithuania, Kęstutis Mickus and Vitoldas Petravičius, were stopped in their Department car by Soviet special militia while driving near the Lithuanian special police building, presently occupied by the USSR military. They were accused of not stopping to the blink of car headlights, supposedly shown to them by the Soviets. After being held in Military headquarters of Vilnius they both were released at approximately 4 p.m. today. At the headquarters Mickus and Petravičius were interrogated many times and searched separately. The Department car still remains in the yard of the headquarters.

9 March

At about 5:00 a.m. shots were heard in Basanavičius Street in Vilnius. A foreign correspondent living nearby heard the shots and went outside to investigate. He saw three Soviet soldiers; one was shooting into the air. When the correspondent approached him, the soldier struck him on the jaw.

Procuracy General official information: On 9 March [at approximately 5:00 a.m.] intoxicated Soviet soldiers arbitrarily detained Meilūnas, Charitonovas and Jasiulionis in the vicinity of Basanavičiaus Street 15. Meilūnas and Jasiulionis were assaulted; taken were cash, a watch, and an audio cassete. The above individuals were made to lie in the street, were struck with rifle butts, were mocked, and obscene curses were aimed at them.

11 March

Last night six Lithuanian policemen and an employee of the National Defence Department were detained by Soviet Special Militia in Vilnius.

Yesterday at approximately 9 p.m. National Defence Department employee Artūras Merkys was detained by the SSM while bringing furniture for the Department in a department automobile. The furniture and the car are still in the possession of the Soviet Military.

At approximately 2:30 a.m. a car of Lithuanian Police with four policemen on board was stopped by the SSM. They were stopped by a military car standing across the street. The Soviets said that they will speak to none lower than "the Minister" and took all four Lithuanians to the same Police Academy. Later in the day the policemen were released without their automatic weapons.

At about the same time two sergeants of the Lithuanian Police were stopped in their private car, again, by the SSM. The Policemen were accused of driving while under the influence, even though these were not traffic officers. The Soviets took away the sergeant's pistols and let them go.

14 March

Procuracy General official information: On 14 March at approximately noon, at the former DOSAAF facility in the Viršuliškės [area of Vilnius], a Soviet Army soldier, when acting negligently with his weapons, shot in the head A. Oskolkov (born 1976).

15 March

The headquarters' employee, Major Zaichenko, informed the Lithuanian authorities that on March 14, at approximately 11 p.m. an unrecognized young man was shot dead in the building of the National Defence Department of the Republic of Lithuania (the building presently occupied by the USSR military).

Later today an investigation group of the Lithuanian Ministry of Internal Affairs, which went to the mentioned building, was not allowed inside. The body of the young man is in the morgue at the moment and his indentity is still being established.

18 March

At approximately 12:45 a.m., Deputy of the Supreme Council and Director of the National Defence Department of the Republic of Lithuania Audrius Butkevičius and his driver Vaclovas Jezerskas were abducted by Soviet military personnel. They were threatened by automatic weapons carried by four men in civilian clothes. It was only after Deputy Prime Minister Zigmas Vaišvila and Procecutor General Artūras Paulauskas undertook negotiations with Soviet Internal Affairs officials both in Vilnius and in Moscow that Audrius Butkevičius and later Vaclovas Jezerskas were released.

20 March

At approximately 7 p.m. seven officers of the National Defence Department of Lithuania border patrol in a bus were stopped in Pylimo Street, Vilnius by Soviet OMON jeeps blocking their way and as they did not stop, the jeeps chased, shooting at them. Five succeeded in escaping, four of them were not wounded, one is in hospital with a bullet wound to the thigh near the groin; two wounded were being held at the Soviet military commander's headquarters in Vilnius. After long negotiations between Lithuanian Government officials and officials at the commander's headquarters, Lithuania's Minister of Health, Juozas Oleka, and an official from the Ministry of Internal Affairs were allowed into the building where the two National Defence Department employees were being held. According to Minister Oleka, who was not able to make a close examination, one had slight wounds, the other was wounded in the skull and chest, and needed immediate medical attention, possibly surgery. Medical attention had not, as yet, been allowed.

At approximately 2:15 a.m. the two National Defence Department employees were released from military headquarters, one was given first aid treatment and sent home, the other was taken to the hospital with what seems to be head wounds and a broken rib. Both received their injuries while being dragged out of the bus at the scene of the shooting.

27 March

At 12:56 p.m. the Soviet army men detained E.Žvinklys at the house 51, Gedimino Street, Vilnius, by aiming automatic weapons at him. He was taken away to an unknown destination.

28 March

Soviet army men, at 12:30 p.m. at 216-9 Taikos av., Klaipėda, broke into the flat of M.Žuravliova, as they searched for her son, who deserted the Soviet army.

3 April

At 11:30 a.m. in Jovarų Street, Kaunas Soviet army men took Mindaugas Gedmintas out of his car by force put him military lorry and drove him to an unknown destination. M.Gedmintas deserted from the Soviet army.

9 April

At approximately 9 a.m. the automobile drivers' school in Plytinės Street in Vilnius was seized. The action was carried out by armed soldiers in comouflage type uniforms and bullet proof vests.

19 April

At approximately 14:00 p.m. today Soviet military forces from an as yet unidentified unit surrounded and forcibly occupied a customs post in the border town of Medininkai, 60 km east of Vilnius, on the Vilnius- Minsk highway.

Having evicted the Lithuanian customs officials from the post, the military disconnected all communication lines to the facility. Customs officials were ordered to leave the area.

24 April

At approximately 11 a.m. a group of Soviet soldiers surrounded and entered a building in Naujoji Vilnia housing two banks: a branch of the Agricultural Bank of the Republic of Lithuania and a Commercial Bank which is registered as a subdivision of the USSR Gosbank. The soldiers reported that they acted upon the order of Boris Pugo, USSR Minister of Internal Affairs.

25 April

During the night technical schools in Kaunas, Marijampolė, Alytus, Šiauliai, Klaipėda, Panevėžys, an aviation factory in Prienai, the Hotel "Signalas" in Alytus, an aeroclub in Kyviškės, an aerosports club in Biržai and a gliding club in Palukně (both close to Vilnius, and belonging to the Aeroclub of Lithuania) were assaulted and occupied. The military have confiscated technical equipment, building materials, inventory and cars from the schools.

Soldiers in the hotel in Alytus broke into guest rooms and disconnected telephone lines. Other buildings remain fully occupied.

At 2:45 p.m. on the territory of the occupied Lithuanian Radio and Television Committee a shot was heard. An ambulance which arrived at 3:15 p.m. found a dead soldier with a bullet wound to the skull. The dead soldier was identified as a Mr.Achmedeev. USSR military procuracy officials based in Vilnius informed Lithuanian police officers that Achmedeev was shot dead accidentally due to unsafe use of a firearm.

EYEWITNESS ACCOUNTS OF THE SOVIET ATTACK ON LITHUANIAN BROADCASTING FACILITIES IN VILNIUS ON JANUARY 13, 1991

Vaclovas Krisciunas
Vilnius

...When I turned to the face the roaring tank right next to me, I saw three people under its treads. They were shouting, screaming incredibly, moaning. We jumped to help them. We pulled one out quickly. But we couldn't pull out the other two women because their legs were still pinned under the treads. The tank wasn't moving. We leaned on the front of the tank and gestured to the to the tank driver to not drive forward, to go in reverse. After a few minutes we heard the sound of the engine, and the tank pulled back about a meter and released the legs of the two women. They weren't moaning or screaming. They had probably lost consciousness because of the unbearable pain. We picked them up and carried them to Sudervė St. After carrying them for a bit, I ran to look for an ambulance because I couldn't see one anywhere. At last I saw an ambulance in the distance. I ran up to it and saw a man who had been shot in the chest lying in it (he was stripped to the waist, and his chest was bandaged). He was pale and lying still. A young woman in a dark coat and who was pale in the face was lying by his side. She also wasn't moving.

Nerimantas Markevicius
Medical assistant of the First Aid Station, student

As soon as we got to the TV tower, the first person I saw was a man walking in our direction; his head was cut open. His head was injured so severely that even his skull was fractured, and the pulsation of the cerebral cortex could be felt. I bandaged him. I heard people shouting from the hill that there were many injured. I climbed up the hill slipping, and it seems to me that for some time I was petrified by the sight there. I saw people standing. Then the tank fired, and three or four of them fell as if they had been hit. At that moment a man came up to me with cut face and a ruptured eardrum. I told him to go to the ambulance. Then I saw that people were carrying in my direction an adolescent boy shot in the leg. Only when I took the wounded to the Red Cross Hospital did I fully realize what was going on. The corridor was full of wounded people; doctors were stitching wounds right in the corridor since all the operating rooms were occupied.

Loreta Trucilauskaitė
Vilnius

When the shooting started I didn't feel any fear. Just my friend Loreta became very frightened. I told her, "Pull yourself together; pray; everything will be all right; there are so many people here; there's a whole crowd here, not just a few people, they won't do us any harm." Then window panes started falling. We pulled back from the tower. We chanted "Lie-tu-va!" We were pulling back as the tanks were approaching. Only now I remember that Loreta said, "Give me your hand." I was stretching out my hand to her but slipped and somebody fell on top of me. I didn't understand what was going on. I saw the cannon of the tank above me and suddenly felt that something was pressing on my legs. I heard somebody scream. I remember through a haze that somebody was lying next to me, but I couldn't understand if it was my friend or not. I managed to pull one leg out, but my other leg was under the treads of the tank. I also remember men waving and shouting something

to the soldiers sitting on the tank. I hear rumours that supposedly the Lithuanians themselves were pushing girls under the tanks. That's sheer nonsense. We were retreating when the tank was pushing us. But I slipped and wasn't quick enough to get up...When I remember that horrible night, I really think that I wouldn't be afraid to defend the tower again if it were necessary. I have no feeling of revenge for the tank operator who injured me. But I can't understand how he could drive over people, even if he had been given such an order. This is inhuman, terrible...

Sigitas Lenkevičius
Plungė District, Gegrėnai

People sang and danced by the tower till 1:30 in the morning. Then the siren wailed. The tanks started to move towards the tower. People encircled the tower. The tanks began to shoot. It was terrifying. People were singing hymns. A vehicle came after the tanks; soldiers jumped out, and all hell broke loose... The soldiers were hit people on the head with machine-gun butts; it didn't matter if they were attacking a woman or a child. Shots were cracking all around. And the crowd chanted: "Lietuva, Lietuva!"...

Vidas Janaudis
Vilnius

I was part of the group of medical personnel allowed to enter the TV tower seized by the paratroopers. The troops were calm, they were smoking, some of them were slightly bruised. Looking at them you got the impression they were people resting after an ordinary day's work. One of them tried to explain: "It was more terrifying in Baku!" Then he fell silent and went on as if trying to justify himself, "Why are people getting in the way of tanks for no reason? If we're given an order, we will occupy [the building] at any cost! Once we've gotten in here, the people had better get out of the way. Later the authorities will have it out among themselves."

Igoris Braslavskis
Physician, intensive care team of the first aid station

When we were called to the Television Committee building, the first thing I saw there was a man on a stretcher next to an ambulance. One glance was enough to conclude that he was already dead. Many people were willing to help, and I asked to bring all the wounded people to the car. A man ran up and told me that he had seen a burnt man in the enclosure by the Television and Radio Committee building where armored personnel carriers were already standing. Together we went to the enclosure, and I tried to squeeze inside through an opening between the booth and the fence, but the troops spotted me and opened fire, although I was wearing a white doctor's smock. A young man with a burnt face was walking about in the enclosure shouting that he didn't know which direction to go. Having stepped back, I started to shout commands for him to come in the direction of my voice. He oriented himself and came up to me. His whole face was burnt; his eyes were swollen; blood was oozing from his nose and mouth. He could speak, and still knew where he was, and what was going on. He said he was a student from Šilutė. He was worried that his parents would find out that he had been wounded and asked me not to tell them anything. While in the ambulance, we diagnosed burns in the respiratory tract, possible external and internal trauma of the thorax resulting from an explosion. Most probably, it had been an exploding cannon shot. Later we also heard these kinds of

explosives exploding in the crowd. The young man's face was swelling; tiny particles of powder had stuck in the skin; his face was black, and we couldn't make out his eyes. The agony of death started. We were in a hurry to bring him to a hospital as quickly as possible. When we were driving off from the Television Committee building, a shot was fired above the ambulance. When we recovered from the shock, we looked through the window and saw a tank five metres away from the ambulance.

Romualdas Burba
Assistant professor, Cand. Sc. (Medical Sciences)
Head of the Traumatology Department, Vilnius Clinic No. 1

I have been working as a surgeon for thirty years. I have never seen such severe injuries. The character of the wounds was quite obvious; in most cases it was bullet wounds and wounds resulting from people being crushed by tanks and armored personnel carriers. Those were obvious cases of field surgery. We were in a hurry to sort out the injured persons so we could make sure who had to be operated on without delay, whose condition was not so critical, and who had to be X-rayed. Already in the course of the first operations performed by surgeons, bullets and splinters, including plastic splinters, were extracted from wounds. The type of bullets was also quite obvious -- dum-dum bullets possessed only by professional military and prohibited under Geneva conventions even during wartime.

Vaclovas Buzas
Kupiskis district, Šimoniai

The tanks stopped, and paratroopers jumped out one after another. They fired several blank shots and then started throwing explosives. One fell close to me; I kicked it back. A second explosive was thrown at us. I grabbed it and threw it back. At that moment I was hit; and that was that. A shot from a machine-gun. I thought my leg had been cut off; I couldn't move it. I was pulled out by a Japanese journalist; I would have been trampled otherwise. Then another man ran up to me and pulled me to an ambulance; from there I was taken directly to the operating table.

Algirdas Šukys
Vilnius

We held hands as we stood in front of a huge moving tank which crawled by quite close to us. Hardly had I managed to pull my leg away from its treads when on the left, almost beside me, I heard a scream. Turning, I saw a woman or a girl lying on her back (in the shade of the tank it was hard to see her face distinctly, but I noticed that she had a light-coloured kerchief or a cap on her head, and was wearing a light-coloured scarf and a dark or grey coat). Her legs were under the treads of the tank. Men tried to push the tank back, to pull the victim out, but they could not budge such a heavy object (it was a heavy tank, not an armored personnel carrier). I began to hit the top of the tank with my fists, screaming in Russian that there was a woman under the tank. Then, cursing furiously, a soldier jumped up to me, gave me a poke in the back, kicked me in the stomach and pushed me from the tank. The tank drove backwards, but before moving forward, it pulled back a bit and ran over the woman once more. Several men took the injured woman and carried her off. At the same time on the right side shots were heard. One soldier wearing a helmet shot at a man who fell down and who was also taken away from the tower into the darkness. A young, well-built man in a soldier's uniform and with medals on his chest, standing among us, jumped in front of the tank and

fell down, shouting, "What are you doing! You're shooting at your own people! I served together with you in the army. Even in Afghanistan we didn't act like this. Crush me, too!" A soldier ran up to him. I don't think he managed to kick the man lying on the ground man because our men pulled him to where we were. He stood and cried. Big tears were rolling down his cheeks. We joined our hands and began to chant, " Lithuania! Lithuania! Lithuania will be free!"

Heldė Aivars
Latvia

But another rocket was fired, and they began shooting. They pretended to be shooting in the air, but people fell all around. Searchlights blinded us. I tried to go, but then a tank fired and a piece of concrete, which split off from the tower, hit me on the shoulder, while a man standing next to me was hit in the eye. Luckily, I had opened my mouth because a girl standing near by clutched her ears and started to shout. Her boy friend was holding her, and it looked as if she was going out of her mind. A body was dropped down from the tower; I'm not sure from which floor. When a tank fired I saw a man thrown up into the air and then drop to the ground as if he were an empty sack. At that moment I became scared. I realized how meaningless and helpless my body was; I felt as if I were separated from it. I just wanted to see everything, everything that was going on, because I realized that the real essence of the communist empire was unfolding in front of my eyes; I was seeing its real face... Then the paratroopers really turned brutal. They weren't shooting into the air anymore, but into the ground quite close to the feet or even directly in the legs. A soldier hit a man with the butt of his gun, and then hit him again on the head with a truncheon. The tanks were approaching, people panicked, but they didn't run. Bullets were flying around and shouts were heard. I saw a Japanese journalist behind the fence and having come up to him I started telling him what was going on. Ambulances were standing at the bottom of the hill. The first person killed was lying on stretcher. Photographers had surrounded him like flies. Back up on the hill tanks were chasing people like crazy. People could only get away by jumping the fence or getting under the tank. The soldiers kept beating them and shooting them in the legs. It seems they had been given an order to disperse them from that area. A drunken voice shouted from a megaphone, "Go home, your grandmas and grandpas are waiting for you." Then another man started speaking in a more normal voice, first in Russian, then in Lithuanian, "Your resistence is senseless. The committee for national salvation is taking all power into its hands. This is the power of workers and peasants. Our aim is humanism...", while at the same time paratroopers were still shooting people in the legs. I saw an elderly man fall...

Stasys Ivanauskas
Nida

Trying to keep warm, we were dancing and singing. I myself was playing the accordion and was happy that so many people were joining in. I want to stress that neither our songs nor our words contained anything insulting to people of other nationalities. Somebody made fun of use of force. We were singing mostly patriotic songs and were chanting. That was the only weapon we had.
... After breaking through the barriers below, the tanks surrounded the TV tower. A powerful searchlight was turned on and directed at us. As soon as the tanks halted, the soldiers started shooting with live ammunition and throwing explosives. Window-panes were shattered by bullets and the shock of noise. Paratroopers, clearing their way with the butts of their guns and with truncheons, attacked the people. I saw a tank driving over a woman who had fallen down. We dispersed. Women's moans and children's screams were heard everywhere. Men were shouting "Fascists!"...

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Our ref.

I ..... Nr. .....
Your ref.

INFORMATION ON THE VICTIMS

OF THE ARMED FORCES OF THE USSR

April 30,1991

On January 11 and 13, 1991, the units of the Soviet Army occupied the buildings of the Press Palace, the Radio and Television Committee and TV Tower using tanks and armored carriers, blank cannon cartridges, automatic weapons and bullets. Weaponless people, who wanted to protect free press and free word, were gathered at these buildings. Soviet soldiers beat the people with gun buts and other hard objects, crushed them under wheels of armored carriers and caterpillars of tanks. People at the TV Tower and Radio and Television Committee received inhumane treatment. 11 persons were killed there, two people died of wounds in hospitals. We do not possess exact information on the total number of the victims, because the military men did not allow the First Aid doctors to the site of events after the attacks.

Data of the killed and the injuried are presented below. Up to March 15, 718 injuried people appealed for medical aid, 198 women among them. 416 persons were inflicted hearing injuries: 150 suffered from different combined wounds (crushed, lacerated, cut, etc.); 54 persons have fire shot injuries, 11 persons suffered from burns. 169 persons were treated in hospitals.

Since January 20, the aggression has become more active. From January 20 to March 15, 15 injured men appealed for medical help, two of them with fire shot wounds. Nine persons are treated in hospitals due to complicated cerebral traumas: one person, Tautkus Jonas, died on January 30, from fire shot injury of the cerebrum. Kancevičius Vytautas died on February 18, from fire shot injury of abdomen.

Victims of actions of the Soviet Army
carried out in Vilnius, January - February, 1991

TOTAL

	Type of injury												
	missing	Concussed wounds	Combined trauma	Acoustic trauma	Gunshot wounds	Burns	Toxic injury	Other injuries	missing	Ambulatory	Hospitalization	Killed or died in hosp.	Total
Sex missing	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	-	2
Male	33	120	16	283	46	9	4	7	3	366	135	14	518
Female	15	29	5	133	8	2	2	4	1	162	34	1	198
TOTAL	49	150	21	416	54	11	6	11	4	530	169	15	718

Unfortunately, the Soviet Army's aggressive actions against peaceful population of Lithuania continue. Men are detained in streets, cars are stopped, their passengers are forced to get out and stay outside with their hands up, while their cars are being searched. There have been cases, when ambulance cars have been detained. Besides, soldiers beat people and shot at them from automatic weapons. Military men take men to commandant's headquarters or to the barracks resorting to violence; they inflict physical abuse on people ignoring even their poor state of health (e.g., a young man with his arm in plaster cast was severally beaten in Kaunas).

We kindly request you to spread this information as broadly as possible, because official mass media of the USSR either suppress it or present it distorted.

Ministry of Health sincerely thanks everybody who sympathized with us, who helped us and is still rendering material help to the Lithuanian medicine.

Juozas Olekas, M.D.
Minister of Health
of Lithuanian Republic

LIST OF INJURED

as a result of Soviet military actions

(Data provided by the Ministry of Health of the Republic of Lithuania)

(January 1991)

Name	Year of birth	Place of residence	Diagnosis
Adamonis, M. M.	1935	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Aksamitauskas, Česlovas	1947	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Alekna, Edmundas	1955	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Aleksandravičius, Kęstutis	1934	Kėdainiai	Head lacerations
Aleksejūnaitė, Jadvyga (f)	1974	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Alinkonis, Stanislovas	1953	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Ališauskas, Albinas	1968	Kaunas district	Nose contusions
Ališauskas, Alvydas	1964	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Alkovikas, Martynas	1923	Kaunas	Acoustic trauma
Andrijauskas, Irtautas	1969	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Andriuškevičius, V. J.	1935	Vilnius	n/a
Antul, Virginijus	1967	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Anužytė, Lina (f)	1972	Plungė	Calf wounds
Arbačiauskas, Liudvikas	1953	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Asanavičius, Gintautas	1963	Kaunas	Head wounds
Asanavičiūtė, Loreta (f)	1967	Vilnius	Multiple injuries (dead)
Astrauskaitė, Lina (f)	1972	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Augulienė, Nijolė (f)	1948	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Augustinavičiūtė, Regina (f)	1942	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Aukštikalnis, Vytautas	1961	Kupiškis	Acoustic trauma
Aukštuolis, Rimantas	1954	Ukmergė	Concussion
Babickas, Jonas	1943	Kupiškis district	Broken ribs
Babravičius, Juozas	1963	Širvintos	Acoustic trauma
Bagdonas, Petras	1949	Kaunas	n/a
Bagdonas, Česlovas	1946	Kaunas	Acoustic trauma
Bajoras, Mindaugas	1971	Vilnius	Bullet wound to the back
Bajoriūnas, Alvydas	1968	Panevėžys	Forearm fracture
Balevičienė, Vida (f)	1947	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Baliukevich, V. J.	1952	Vilnius	Jaw fracture
Baliukevičius, Stasys	1958	Vilnius	Stab wound to the back
Balkevich, Miroslav	1971	Vilnius	Bullet wound to the foot
Baltrukonis, Leonardas	1931	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Baltrukonis, Tomas	1969	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Balvočius, Arūnas	1972	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Balčinskas, Šarūnas	1959	Kaunas	Concussion
Balčiūnas, Albinas	1941	Kaunas	Calf and heel wounds
Balčiūnas, Artūras	1969	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Banelis, Mindaugas	1973	Vilnius	Head contusions
Banevičius, J. J.	1956	Vilnius	n/a
Banevičius, Julius	1951	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma

Name	Year of birth	Place of residence	Diagnosis
Banevičius, Pranas	1954	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Baronas, Vladislovas	1936	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Bartlingas, Jonas	1969	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Bartulis, Rytis Jonas	1944	Kupiškis district	Chest contusions
Barysas, A.	1936	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Barysas, Vaclovas	1940	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Bazys, Šarūnas	1963	Vilnius	Hand and chest contusions
Baciulis, Vladislovas	1967	Vilnius	Retinal damage
Bekevičienė, Virginija (f)	1955	Kupiškis	Chemical facial burns
Belinkevich, A.	1935	Vilnius	n/a
Bendorius, Tomas	1971	Vilnius	Forearm fracture
Beresnevičienė, Irena (f)	1938	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Bernadickienė, Laima (f)	1951	Kupiškis	Head wound
Bernotas, Vaclovas	1969	Vilnius	Upper arm, shoulder wounds
Beržanskis, Artūras	1972	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Bezaras, Pranas	1951	Kupiškis	Bullet wound to the calf
Bezerienė, Genė (f)	1945	Panevėžys	Eye contusion
Bėčius, A.	1937	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Bieliauskaitė, Rasa (f)	1963	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Bikmanas, Tomas	1973	Vilnius	Head wounds
Bilksienė, Stefa (f)	1928	Varėna	Acoustic trauma
Binkauskas, Vytautas	1933	Vilnius	Head wounds
Biržanienė, Gražina (f)	1939	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Bisikirskas, Pranas	1936	Vilnius	Broken ribs
Bičikovas, Sergejus	1965	Vilnius	Bullet wound to the foot
Blažević̆ius, V.	1947	Vilnius	Concussion
Bliovas, A.	1941	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Blozė, Zenonas	1930	Kėdainiai district	Head wound
Blėdienė, Dangė (f)	1966	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Bogočiūnas, Arnas	1969	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Bosevičius, Valdas	1969	Vilnius	Concussion
Bradauskas, Saulius	1959	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Bradavičius, Saulius	1959	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Brazevich, Valentin	1965	Vilnius	Concussion
Bridžius, Juozas	1933	Kėdainiai	Head wound
Bridžius, Saulius	1973	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Briedelis, Kęstutis	1971	Vilnius	Head and lung contusions
Brunzienė, Janina (f)	1945	Vilnius	Concussion
Bukučinskas, Jonas	1938	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Buoltaitė, Giedrė (f)	1947	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Bulovas, Žilvinas	1965	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Burneika, Karolis	1972	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Buta, Justinas	1955	Širvintos district	Concussion
Buta, Kristijonas	1971	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Būda, Vytautas	1928	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Būtienė, Kazimiera (f)	1930	Plungė	Concussion
Chadakevičius, Henrikas	1956	Vilnius	n/a
Chmieliauskas, Igoris	1966	Panevėžys	Calf and heel wounds
Cibauskas, Edvinas	----	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma

Name	Year of birth	Place of residence	Diagnosis
Cibulskienė, Virginija (f)	1934	Vilnius	Retinal damage
Cicėnienė, Emilija (f)	1925	Ignalina district	Shoulder wounds
Citrinavičius, Mindaugas	1948	Alytus	Bullet wound to the foot
Cvirka, Kęstutis	1939	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Čalka, Alfonsas	1931	Vilnius	Retinal damage
Čapkauskienė, Kristina (f)	1959	Kaunas	Bullet wound to the foot
Čeginskaitė, Vilija (f)	1964	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Čekanauskas, Vygandas	1967	Vilnius	Eye contusions
Čelutka, Gintautas	1962	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Čepelė, Anicetas	1923	Subačius	Bullet wound to the thigh
Čepkauskas, Simonas	1923	Kaunas	Head contusions
Čerikienė, Ona (f)	1949	Vilnius	Concussion
Černavičius, Vytas Petras	1937	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Černeckas, Gintaras	1953	Vilnius	Head contusions
Černiauskas, Arūnas	1973	Vilnius	Head contusions
Černiauskas, Saulius	1966	Vilnius	Bullet wound to the foot
Černius, Mindaugas	1973	Vilnius	Bullet wound to the foot
Čiurlys, Eugenijus	1952	Kupiškis	Acoustic trauma
Dainauskas, Juozas	1938	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Dambrauskaitė, Laima (f)	1958	Kaunas	Acoustic trauma
Dambrauskas, Jonas	1971	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Dambrauskas, Rimantas	1952	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Dapkus, Aidas	1969	Vilnius	Contusions to the nose
Daugėlavičius, Rimantas	1957	Vilnius	Head wound
Daunoravičius, R.	1952	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Dautartaitė, Jūratė (f)	1975	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Dautartas, Gintaras	1973	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Daškevičius, Romas	1947	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Debronevsky, Igor	1965	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Deksnys, Gintaras Jonas	1962	Širvintos district	Concussion
Deksnytė, Aušra (f)	1966	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Dergintienė, Ilona (f)	1964	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Deventinas, Vytas	1953	Klaipėda	Tear gas poisoning
Dindienė, Veronika (f)	1943	Širvintos	Acoustic trauma
Dragūnaitė, Ruta (f)	1971	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Dragūnienė, Aldona (f)	1942	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Druskis, Virginijus	1969	Vilnius	Bullet wound, chest (dead)
Dubickas, Ričardas	1969	Vilnius	Concussion
Dubietienė, Stasė (f)	1939	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Dubinskas, Remigijus	1968	Vilnius	Retinal damage
Dulevičius, Vytautas	1940	Kaunas	Head wound
Dunajevas, Jonas	1948	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Dzindzevičius, Stasys	1962	Vilnius	n/a
Eidukaitis, Arūnas	1975	Vilnius	Torn ligaments
Gabalis, Rolandas	1961	Vilnius	Head wounds
Gaidelis, Gintautas	1965	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma

43-645 0 - 91 - 4

Name	Year of birth	Place of residence	Diagnosis
Gaižutytė, Asta (f)	1975	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Galdikas, Gražvydas	1967	Vilnius	Broken nose
Galeckas, Audrius	1969	Kaunas district	Chest wounds
Galkus, A.	1941	Vilnius	Concussion
Galkus, Adomas M.	1949	Vilnius	n/a
Galvelė, Vytautas	1951	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Galčiūnienė, Marijona (f)	1948	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Galčiūtė, Daiva (f)	1972	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Garnienė, Dalia (f)	1945	Kaunas	Chemical damage to eyes
Gavrilov, Yevgeny	1962	Pskov	Bullet wound to the foot
Gavėnaitis, Rimantas	1957	Kaunas	Head wound
Gedminienė, Elena (f)	1948	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Gedrimaitė, Rita (f)	1961	Klaipėda	Acoustic trauma
Gembi, Jokūbas	1943	n/a	n/a
Genys, Eugenijus	1949	Kėdainiai	Chest wounds
Gerbutavičius, Darius	1973	Vilnius	Bullet wounds, chest (dead)
Gerulienė, Lida (f)	1948	Kaunas	n/a
Gerulis, Liudvikas	1943	Kaunas	Concussion
Geryba, Vytautas	1943	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Gečienė, Ona (f)	1941	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Gečienė, Vanda (f)	1928	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Gečys, Sigitas	1960	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Gildutytė, Vlada (f)	1918	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Girdauskas, Augustinas	1942	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Girdenis, Jonas	1966	Vilnius	Concussion
Girdvainienė, Liucija (f)	1945	Vilnius	Concussion
Girienčikas, Juozas	1932	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Girulskis, Igoris	1964	Vilnius	Head lacerations
Giunter, Vladimir	1949	Vilnius	n/a
Gliaudelis, Boleslovas	1932	Vilnius	Damage to the eyes
Glušauskas, Viktoras	1953	Kaunas district	Acoustic trauma
Gnezdovas, Piotras	1952	Vilnius	Broken ribs
Goga, Juozapas	1937	Marijampolė district	Burns
Gradauskas, Robertas	1969	Kaunas	Bullet wounds to the feet
Grašys, Bronius	1940	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Grigaitė, Laima (f)	1968	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Grigas, Juozas	1936	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Grigonis, Algirdas	1946	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Grincevičius, Ivanas	1955	Vilnius	Broken ribs
Grybauskienė, G. (f)	1950	Vilnius	Foot contusions
Grūstas, Gintaras	1967	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Gubenas, R.	1964	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Gudaitienė, Dalia (f)	1961	Bytčių village	Acoustic trauma
Guntytė, Daiva (f)	1961	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Guogas, Leonas Vytauto	1933	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Guokas, L. M.	1933	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Gustaitis, Matas	1945	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Gužauskienė, Skaistė (f)	1939	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Gėdžiūnaitė, Estera (f)	1975	Kupiškis	Acoustic trauma

Name	Year of birth	Place of residence	Diagnosis
Ignatavičiūtė, Eglė (f)	1970	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Ilenienė, Gražina (f)	1955	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Ilkiv, Nikolai	1953	Vilkaviškis	Acoustic trauma
Ilko, Leonid	1965	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Imbrasienė, Birutė (f)	1947	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Indriūnas, Darius	1968	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Ivanauskaitė, Regina (f)	1967	Vilnius	n/a
Ivanauskas, Liudvikas	1937	Kaunas	Broken ribs
Ivanovas, Georgijus	1955	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Ivanovas, Olegas	1968	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Ivasko, Vitold	1936	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Ivoška, Česlovas	1947	Vilnius	n/a
Jagminas, R.	1967	Vilnius	n/a
Jakavonienė, Laima (f)	1940	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Jakučionis, Stasys	1948	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Jakštienė, Rima (f)	1959	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Jakštienė, Viktorija (f)	1955	Vilnius	n/a
Janavičienė, Bronislava (f)	1929	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Janikas, Vilius	1970	Vilnius	Head wounds
Jankauskaitė, Genutė (f)	1959	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Jankauskas, Alvydas	1967	Vilnius	Nose wounds
Jankauskas, M.	1971	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Jankauskas, Rolandas	1969	Vilnius	Multiple injuries (dead)
Jankauskienė, Jadvyga (f)	1933	Kėdainiai	Acoustic trauma
Jankevičienė, Vida (f)	1946	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Janonis, Vladas	1954	Kretinga	Acoustic trauma
Januškauskienė, Ilona (f)	1942	Kaunas	Chemical damage to the eyes
Jančiauskienė, Birutė (f)	1933	Kaunas	Tear gas poisoning
Jaramaitienė, Jūra (f)	1949	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Jasiulevičius, Vincentas	1947	Vilnius	Upper arm wounds
Jazbutis, Jonas	1971	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Jazučionienė, Regina (f)	—	Vilnius	Contusions, lacerations
Jekelevičienė, Ona (f)	1922	Varėna	Concussion
Jukna, Zigmantas	1958	Vilnius	Head wound
Juknevičius, Rimantas	1966	Marijampolė	Bullet wound, stomach (dead)
Juodgalvis, Jonas	1929	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Juodkazis, Alekas	1940	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Juodrys, Marius	1975	Vilnius district	Acoustic trauma
Jurgaitytė, Rūta (f)	1974	Kaunas	Head contusions
Jurgutis, Algimantas	1956	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Jurkevičius, Vytautas	1970	Kaunas	Concussion
Juršėnas, Vytautas	1959	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Jusis, Petras	1933	Vilnius	Head contusions
Juškevičius, Bronius	1968	Vilnius	Upper arm, shoulder wounds
Kairienė, Liudmila (f)	1957	Marijampolė	Broken hand
Kairys, Marius	1968	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Kalasauskas, Kęstutis	1948	Kaunas district	Acoustic trauma
Kalesinskas, Romas	1950	Kaunas	Acoustic trauma

Name	Year of birth	Place of residence	Diagnosis
Kalinauskienė, Verutė (f)	1946	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Kalpokas, Rimvydas	1959	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Kaluškevičienė, Regina (f)	1938	Vilnius	Lacerations to the femur
Kalvaitytė, Eglė (f)	1974	Kėdainiai	Bullet wound to the foot
Kalvelis, Aleksandras	1938	Kupiškis	Acoustic trauma
Kanapinskas, Alvydas	1952	Kėdainiai	Bullet wound, chest (dead)
Kancevičius, Vytautas	1941	Kėdainiai	Bullet wound, stomach (dead)
Kandelis, Romualdas	1973	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Kariniauskas, Aloyzas	1938	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Kariniauskas, Jonas	1957	Vilnius	Head wounds
Karosas, Algis	1942	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Karpavičius, Gintautas	1960	Vilnius	Bullet wound to the foot
Karpuchinas, Artūras	1961	Kaunas	Minor shock trauma
Karsokas, Juozas	1947	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Kartavičius, Gintas	1967	Prienai district	Elbow contusions
Karulis, Vytautas	1948	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Kaselienė, Vida (f)	1949	Ukmergė	Acoustic trauma
Kaselytė, Birutė (f)	1972	Ukmergė	Acoustic trauma
Kasiulis, Jonas	1943	Vilnius	n/a
Kasperavičienė, Danutė (f)	1934	Kaunas district	Acoustic trauma
Katilius, Edvinas	1969	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Katilius, Evaldas	1974	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Katinas, Edvardas	1931	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Kaulerytė, ?.	1972	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Kaušinis, Vidmantas	1944	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Kavaliauskaitė, Albina (f)	1961	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Kavaliūnas, Albinas	1960	Marijampolė	Spine constusions
Kavoliukas, Algimantas Petras	1938	Vilnius	Upper body crushed (dead)
Kazakevičius, Gintaras	1955	Vilnius	n/a
Kazakevičius, Česlovas	1957	Vilnius	Bullet wound to the foot
Kazlauskaitė, Daiva (f)	1966	Kaunas	Eye damage
Kazlauskaitė, Elena (f)	1938	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Kačerauskienė, Gražina (f)	1935	Kaunas	Acoustic trauma
Kašupa, Gintaras	1955	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Kemeš, Rimas	1956	Vilnius	n/a
Keršulis, Darius	1971	Vilnius	n/a
Kezys, Aleksandras	1930	Vilnius	Chemical damage to eyes
Kežienė, Salomėja (f)	1945	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Kiaulevičius, Darius	1970	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Kicanas, Jonas	1943	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Kiečius, Saulius	1974	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Kilienė, Elena (f)	1924	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Kinsky, Vytautas	1957	Kupiškis district	Acoustic trauma
Kirdeikienė, Janina (f)	1960	Šiauliai	n/a
Kirkutis, Romualdas	1968	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Kirsnauskas, Vidmantas	1959	Panevėžys district	Head wound
Kirulis, Satsys	1943	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Kiziliauskas	1968	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Klarienė, Eugandė (f)	1962	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Kledarienė, Jadvyga (f)	1935	Kėdainiai	Shattered knee cap

Name	Year of birth	Place of residence	Diagnosis
Klickauskas, Alvydas	1963	Vilnius	Bullet wound
Klusevičienė, Valerija (f)	1940	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Knyvienė, Daina (f)	1965	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Kondrotas, Rimantas	1960	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Kostautas, Stasys	1950	Kėdainiai	Head wound
Kreivys, Antanas	1942	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Krėvas, Jonas	1931	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Kudabienė, Marijona (f)	1930	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Kukenis, Ričardas	1962	Kupiškis	Concussion
Kulkys, Vytautas	1945	Kaunas	Acoustic trauma
Kupey, Pranas	1961	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Kunkish, Stasys	1949	Vilnius	n/a
Kuncinienė, Milda (f)	1941	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Kuralavičius, Arvydas	1953	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Kurliukas, Egidijus	1967	Vilnius	Lacerations to the hand
Kurmis, Vytautas	1961	Kupiškis	Chest contusions
Kutcailytė, Ingrida (f)	1968	Jonava	Lower leg fracture
Kuzlaitis, Romualdas	1968	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Kušnys, Eugenijus	1954	Marijampolė	n/a
Kuzulienė, Danutė (f)	1951	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Kvaraciejūtė, Marytė (f)	1952	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Kvedara, P.	1939	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Kvedaravičius, Algimantas	1942	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Lakutėnaitė, Audronė (f)	1970	Vilnius	n/a
Landsbergienė, E. (f)	1935	Vilnius	n/a
Lankevičius	----	Vilnius	n/a
Lankevičiūtė, Giedrė (f)	1970	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Lancys, Vytautas	1943	Vilnius	n/a
Lapienis, Petras	1949	Kėdainiai	Kidney lacerations
Lapinskas, Saulius	1969	Vilnius	n/a
Laranskas, Laimonas	1969	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Larčenko, Danutė (f)	1941	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Lasionis, Ramūnas	1969	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Laurelis, Virgilijus	1928	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Laurinavičiūtė, Giedrė (f)	1921	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Lazakevičius, Gintaras	1955	Vilnius	n/a
Lazauskas, V.	1914	Vilnius	n/a
Lašinis, A.	1944	Vilnius	n/a
Laškys, Regimantas	1922	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Lažinskas, Ričardas	1973	Vilnius	Shoulder wounds
Lekaitė, Aušra (f)	1970	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Leleiva, Gediminas	1960	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Lilionis, Dainius	1973	Kaunas	Acoustic trauma
Linkevičius, V.	1954	Vilnius	n/a
Linkevičiūtė, Regina (f)	1961	Kaunas	Bullet wound to the foot
Lisicinas, V.	1946	Vilnius	Fractured wrist
Litvinas, Rimas	1965	Vilnius	Concussion
Litvinienė, Danutė (f)	1951	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Liutvinas, Antanas	1950	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma

Name	Year of birth	Place of residence	Diagnosis
Lorecas, Rimas	1952	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Lukoševičius, Žydrūnas	1973	Kėdainiai	Bullet wound to the calf
Lukošiūtė, Aurika (f)	1972	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Luksienė, Irena (f)	1942	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Luksys, Vytautas	1972	Vilnius	Head wound
Lynkas, Helmutas	1964	Kaunas	Acoustic trauma
Lėlys, Pranas	1935	Kaunas	Acoustic trauma
Maciulevičius, Vidas	1966	Vilnius	Bullet wounds (dead)
Mackevičius, Jurgis	1934	Vilnius	Head wounds
Maknys, Arvydas	1962	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Maknys, Kęstutis	1970	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Makutinas, Vytautas	1925	Kupiškis district	Head wound
Malinauskas, Kostas	1942	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Malinauskienė, L. (f)	1962	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Malūnavičius, Algimantas	n/a	Vilnius	Concussion
Maminskas, Jonas	1933	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Marcinkevičius, Raimondas	1955	Kupiškis	Hand and chest wounds
Marcun, Vaclova (f)	1938	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Margevičiūtė, Lina (f)	1972	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Markauskas, Genadijus	1959	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Markevičius, Juozas	1944	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Markovienė, Valerija (f)	1953	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Markovsky, Romualdas	1947	Vilnius	Upper arm fracture
Martinka, Gintaras	1965	Kupiškis	Acoustic trauma
Martinkus, Robertas	1944	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Martišauskas, V.	1946	Vilnius	Concussion
Martishevsky, Bronislav	1948	Vilnius	Fractured forearm
Martutailis, Danielius	1946	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Marys, Edvardas	1940	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Masevičius, Andrejus	1969	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Masiokas, Eugenijus	1965	Kėdainiai	Bullet wound to the chest
Masiulis, Titas	1962	Kaunas	Bullet wounds (dead)
Masėnas, Tadas	1937	Kaunas	Acoustic trauma
Masėnienė, Birutė (f)	1937	Kaunas	Acoustic trauma
Matuiza, Gediminas	1956	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Matukaitis, Juozas	1930	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Matukas, Audrius	1962	Kaunas	Acoustic trauma
Matulaitis, Darius	1966	Lazdijai district	Concussion
Mazelis, Darius	1961	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Mazūra, Marius	1970	Vilnius	n/a
Mačionienė, Irena (f)	1947	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Maciulis, Kęstutis	1955	Vilnius	Fractured hand
Mačėnas, Gintaras	1967	Vilnius	Concussion
Mažeika, Dainius	1964	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Mažuolytė, Rasa (f)	1963	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Mecinskas, Mykolas	1924	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Meilutis, Marius	1975	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Meilė, Igoris	1967	Vilnius	Concussion
Mekžėnas, Antanas	1941	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma

Name	Year of birth	Place of residence	Diagnosis
Meskauskas, Jonas	1944	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Meškutavičius, Juozas	1952	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Meškėnas, S.	n/a	Vilnius	n/a
Mickevičius, Almantas	1972	Vilnius	n/a
Mieželis, Darius	1966	Vilnius	Retinal damage
Mikalajūnaitė, Kristina (f)	1971	Panevėžys district	Acoustic trauma
Mikas, Stepas	1957	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Mikel, Aregi	1940	Moscow (Spanish TV)	Head wounds
Mikna, Romualdas	1964	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Mikolaitis, Sigitas	1965	Kupškis	Acoustic trauma
Mikulskienė, A. (f)	1938	Vilnius	Concussion
Mikulėnienė, Bronė (f)	1926	Kaunas	Acoustic trauma
Milevičienė, Violeta (f)	1951	Kaunas district	Acoustic trauma
Milevičius, Antanas	1949	Kaunas district	Acoustic trauma
Milinavičius, Jonas	1933	Vilnius	Broken ribs
Miliukštienė, Lilija (f)	1938	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Milius, Gintas	1966	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Miliuvienė, Eleonora (f)	1928	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Minius, Gintas	1966	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Mireckaitė, Romutė (f)	1961	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Mitkienė, Virginija (f)	1945	Kaunas	Acoustic trauma
Mitkus, Ignas	1941	Kaunas	Acoustic trauma
Mitkutė, Erika (f)	1970	Vilnius	Concussion
Mituzas, Audrius	1972	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Molnikienė, Genė (f)	1933	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Monkevičius, Jonas	1942	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Montvidas, Algirdas	1955	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Montvidienė, Genovaitė (f)	1956	Plungė district	n/a
Morozovas, Petras	1955	Vilnius	Head wounds
Motiejūnaitė, Milda (f)	1948	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Mulevičius, Vitoldas	1930	Ukmergė	Acoustic trauma
Muntrimas, Mindaugas	1936	Kupiškis	Mutiple injuries
Musauskaitė, Sigita (f)	1971	Radviliškis	Hand and chest wounds
Nailvaikienė, Ramutė (f)	1963	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Narijauskas, Povilas	1974	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Navinskienė, O. (f)	1944	Vilnius	Tear gas poisoning
Nekrašienė, Liudmila (f)	1957	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Nekrašius, Jonas	1950	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Nekroševičius, Algimantas	1958	Trakų Vokė	Acoustic trauma
Nikitaravičius, Jonas	1950	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Niuklys, Algirdas	1960	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Norkevičius, Arūnas	1959	Grigiškės	Acoustic trauma
Norkūnas, Adolfas	1961	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Olšinskas, Rimantas	1960	Vilnius	Bullet wound to the foot
Orechovas, Viktoras	n/a	Vilnius	Chest contusions
Orlauskienė, Vida (f)	1968	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Pabejūnas, Dziugas	1968	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma

Name	Year of birth	Place of residence	Diagnosis
Pacipavičius, Jonas	1949	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Paladytė, Angelė (f)	n/a	n/a	n/a
Palevičienė, Genė (f)	1942	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Palevičius, P.	1935	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Palevičiūtė, Nijolė (f)	1969	Vilnius	Head lacerations
Panovas, Darius	1971	n/a	Chest contusions
Paukštė, Dainius	1961	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Paulauskas, Algis	1944	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Paulauskienė, L. (f)	1961	Vilnius	Contusions, lacerations
Paškauskienė, Aldona (f)	1942	Kaunas	Hand and chest contusions
Paškevičienė, Jadvyga (f)	1938	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Paškevičius, Algirdas	1939	Kėdainiai	Acoustic trauma
Pelakytė, Laima (f)	1959	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Petkevičius, Česlovas	1931	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Petraitienė, Nijolė (f)	n/a	Panevėžys	Elbow contusions
Petrauskas, Antanas	1936	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Petrauskas, Tomas	1971	Vilnius	Chest contusions
Petravičius, Antanas	1949	Kaunas	n/a
Petrikas, Gintaras	1958	Kupiškis district	Concussion
Petrokienė, Angelė (f)	1931	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Petruškevičius, Vytautas	1934	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Petukas, Gintaras	1959	n/a	n/a
Pečiukonis, Vytautas	1952	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Pečiukienienė, Nomeda (f)	1963	Vilnius	n/a
Pečiulis, Gediminas	1964	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Pilipavičius, Vytautas	1973	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Pilkauskas, Sigitas	1966	Gargždai	Bullet wound to the foot
Pilsudskis, Ramūnas	1972	Kėdainiai	Retinal damage
Pinkevičius, Petras	1927	Vilnius	Broken ribs
Pladytė, Angelė (f)	1942	Vilnius	Foot contusions
Pleckevičius, Mindaugas	1923	Vilnius	Concussion
Pocius, Alfonsas	1920	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Pocius, Egidijus	1972	Vilnius	Tear gas poisoning
Pocius, Vilius	1954	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Podgornas, Petras	1949	Kaunas	Upper arm contusions
Povilaitis, Apolinaras	1937	Vilnius	Bullet wounds, chest (dead)
Povilėnas, Rimas	1971	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Poželienė, Birutė (f)	1952	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Požeraitė, Aušrinė (f)	1970	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Požeraitė, Ramunė (f)	1971	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Pranskaitis, Romualdas	1942	Kaunas	Acoustic trauma
Prietkienė, Elvyra (f)	1940	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Protosov, Vladimir	1951	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Puodžiūnaitė, Daiva (f)	1971	Vilnius	Fractured wrist
Purlys, Mykolas	1963	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Pusvaskytė, Janina (f)	1931	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Putys, Juozas Vytautas	1936	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Puzinas, Juozas	1925	Vilnius	n/a
Puzonas, Algis	1937	Vilnius	Concussion
Pučius, Stanislovas	1931	Kaunas	Acoustic trauma

Name	Year of birth	Place of residence	Diagnosis
Radetsky, Yuri	1954	Vilnius	Head wounds, concussion
Radzevičius, Rolandas	1971	Vilnius	Bullet wound to the foot
Rageleviciene, Gražina (f)	1942	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Rageleviçius, Liudas	1926	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Ralytė, Rima (f)	1965	Kupiskis	Bullet wound to the foot
Ramanauskaitė, Daina (f)	1967	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Ramanauskienė, Ona (f)	1939	Kaunas	Acoustic trauma
Ramanavičius, Arūnas	1966	Vilnius	Multiple injuries
Ramaneckas, Gintaras	1963	Vilnius	Bullet wound to the thigh
Ramaška, Algis	1956	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Ramoškis, Antanas	1933	Vilnius	Concussion
Rasanoriov, Aleksei	1965	Leningrad	Head contusions
Raslanas, J.	1942	Vilnius	Contusions, lacerations
Ratkevičienė, Galina (f)	1962	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Ratkevičius, Saulius	1959	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Raulickytė, Aušra (f)	1970	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Ravaitienė, Elena (f)	1929	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Ravičius, Gintaras	1963	Kaunas	Multiple injuries
Rackauskas, Alfredas	1939	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Rasčius, Artūras	1969	Panevėžys	Splintered teeth
Reinertienė, Albina (f)	1937	Kaunas	Torn knee ligaments
Riliškis, Kazys	1945	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Rimašauskas, Vytautas	1943	Vilnius	n/a
Rimkevičius, Mindaugas	1971	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Rudokaitė, J.	1972	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Ruginis, Antanas	1949	Kaunas	Acoustic trauma
Sabas, Kęstutis Vincentas	1934	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Sagaitis, Vytautas	1938	Vilnius	Concussion
Sakalauskas, Antanas	1952	Vilnius	Bullet wound to the foot
Salnik, Vincas	1939	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Sanovaitis, Gintas	1965	Vilnius	Retinal damage
Sateikienė, Emilija (f)	1949	Kupiskis	n/a
Saulienė, Rita (f)	1959	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Saulis, Kęstutis	1956	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Saulius, Leonas	1941	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Saulūnas, Algirdas	1958	Jonava	Acoustic trauma
Savickas, Petras	1947	Kupiskis	Bullet wound to the thigh
Sefirldaitė, Ruta (f)	1949	Kaunas	Head contusions
Shamkin, Andrei	1965	Vilnius	Bullet wound to the thigh
Shatskikh, Viktor	1970	Pskov	Bullet wound, back (dead)
Shovje, Sidzhea	1957	Moscow (Spanish TV)	Head contusions
Shukyorov, Faniul	1950	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Shulsky, N.	1975	Vilnius	Head contusions
Sidoravičius, Jonas	1937	Vilnius	Head contusions
Simokaitytė, Nijolė (f)	1955	Kaunas	Bullet wound to the mouth
Sinkevičius, Jonas	1937	Vilnius	Contusions to the waist area
Sinkevičius, Vytas	1956	Kaunas district	Shock
Sipas, Linas	1968	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Skabeikienė, Daiva (f)	1963	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma

Name	Year of birth	Place of residence	Diagnosis
Skaukauskienė, Danutė (f)	1941	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Skukauskas, Gintaras	1963	Vilnius	Hand and chest contusions
Skuodienė, Laima (f)	n/a	Kaunas	Acoustic trauma
Skučas, Šarūnas	1971	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Slavinskaitė, Loreta (f)	1971	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Slušnys, Zigmas	1959	Vilnius	Concussion
Smaigys, Vidmantas	1961	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Sparnauskas, Algimantas	n/a	Kaunas	Acoustic trauma
Spruogis, Rimantas	1962	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Stagniūnas, Elmuntas	1950	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Satišiūnienė, Antanina (f)	1934	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Stalgys, Algimantas	1956	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Stanevičienė, Teresė (f)	1952	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Staniulis, Algimantas	1936	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Stankauskas, Virginijus	1964	Kupiškis	Foot and hand contusions
Stankevičius, Arūnas	1974	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Stankevičius, Juozas	1934	Vilnius	Bullet wound to the chest
Stankevičius, Stasys	1934	Kaunas	Heel contusions
Stankus, Antanas	1953	Šilalė	Head contusions
Starkus, Vytautas	1975	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Stasiūlionis, Bronius	1960	Kaunas	Acoustic trauma
Stasiūnas, Alfonsas	1942	Vilnius	n/a
Stasiūnas, Algirdas	1972	Vilnius	Concussion
Stasiūnas, Vaclovas	1928	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Stasiūnienė, Eugenija (f)	1937	Vilnius district	Acoustic trauma
Stasiūnas, Vaclovas	1925	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Steikūnas, Andrius	1973	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Steponaitis, Zigmas	1943	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Steponavičius, Saulius	1963	Vilnius	Concussion
Stipinas, A.	1972	Pagiriai	Acoustic trauma
Stogevičius, Rolandas	1970	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Stoškus, Albertas	1967	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Straukas, Evaldas	1968	Vilnius	Bullet wounds
Strikauskas, Antanas	1938	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Stropus, Evaldas	1968	Vilnius	n/a
Strūna, Romualdas	1951	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Stuknys, Arūnas	1965	Kaunas	Chemical facial burns
Subač, S.	1972	Vilnius	n/a
Subačius, Andrius	1970	Kaunas	Acoustic trauma
Suraučius, Jurgis	1938	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Surinevičius, Romualdas	1949	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Sužiedėlis, A. P.	1957	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Svarolavičius, Ričardas	1974	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Svilas, Bronius	1936	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Šabalinskas, Giedrius	1965	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Šakalienė, Marytė (f)	1941	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Šaltmeris, Juozas	1939	Pakruojis district	Acoustic trauma
Šaltmeris, Vladas	1940	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Šapalienė, Regina (f)	1953	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma

Name	Year of birth	Place of residence	Diagnosis
Šapoka, A.	1933	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Šapokienė, R.	1953	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Šarakauskas, Žygimantas	n/a	Kaunas	Shock
Šarakauskienė, Dalia (f)	1958	Kaunas	Shock
Šateika, Alydas	1940	Subačius	Head wound, concussion
Šateika, Valdas	1974	Subačius	Acoustic trauma
Šateikienė, Eugenija (f)	1949	Subačius	Head wound, concussion
Šatnagis, Jonas	1964	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Ščerba, Ričardas	1968	Vilnius	Concussion
Ščiukaitė, Leta (f)	1975	Kupiškis	Foot and hand contusions
Šefer, R.	1958	Vilnius	Multiple injuries
Šeikys, Liudas	1941	Vilnius	Thigh and heel wounds
Šereika, Jaunutis	1958	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Šikas, Algis	1961	Vilnius	Ruptured spleen
Šildagytė, Jūratė (f)	1973	n/a	n/a
Šilingas, Vincas	1938	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Šimas, Antanas	1943	Šiauliai	Acoustic trauma
Šimulionis, Ignas	1973	Vilnius	Bullet wound, chest (dead)
Šimulytė, Nastė (f)	1973	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Šimėnas, Vytautas	1939	Vilnius	Bullet wound to the mouth
Šipila, Linas	1974	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Šklenikaitė, Danguolė (f)	1974	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Šlekienė, Valerija (f)	1952	Kaunas	Concussion
Šor, E. D.	1967	Vilnius	n/a
Špokauskienė, Aldona (f)	1944	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Šukaitienė, Sofija (f)	1913	Vilnius	Bullet wound to the chest
Šukstenis, Arvydas	1955	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Šukys, Algirdas	1930	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Šulcas, J.	1969	n/a	n/a
Šutkuvienė, Vida (f)	1940	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Švedas, Jonas	1942	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Šveikauskas, Kazimieras	1943	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Talutis, Ignas	1948	Vilnius	Hand and chest contusions
Tamutis, Vytautas	1925	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Tarasonis, Vytautas	1925	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Taraškevičienė, Irena (f)	1932	Kaunas	Head wound, concussion
Tautkus, Jonas	1970	Vilnius	Bullet wound, head (dead)
Tautkutė, Eglė (f)	1967	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Tekutis, Valius	1948	Kėdainiai	Bullet wound to the foot
Tikhonova, Erika (f)	1970	Jonava	Acoustic trauma
Tomkevičius, Juozas	1944	Vilnius	Chemical eye damage
Truska, Liudas	1937	Vilnius	Head wound
Truciliauskaitė, Loreta (f)	1966	Vilnius	Fractured upper arm
Tumas, Gintaras	1968	Šilutė district	n/a
Tumas, Gintaras	1966	Panevėžys district	Thigh and calf wounds
Tumosa, Saulius	1967	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Tundorakis, ..	1957	Vilnius district	Concussion
Tutkus, Jonas	1947	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Tvarijonas, Ramūnas	1969	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma

Name	Year of birth	Place of residence	Diagnosis
Ubartas, Virgilijus	1970	Klaipėda	Broken nose
Urbanovich, Yuri	1967	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Urbonas, Raimondas	1952	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Urbonas, Vaidotas	1958	Šakiai	Acoustic trauma
Urbonavičius, Petras	1927	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Urbonavičius, Vaidotas	1970	Vilnius	Concussion
Užpalytė, Rusanda (f)	1972	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Vagonis, Aurimas	1973	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Vaicechovskis, G.	1962	Vilnius	Concussion
Vaicekauskienė, Elena (f)	1937	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Vaiciukas, Algis	1961	Vilnius	Bullet wound to the thigh
Vaikutytė, Gražina (f)	1972	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Vaitaitis, Algirdas	1960	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Vaitkevičius, Alfredas	1955	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Vaitkevičius, Robertas	1956	Vilnius	Head contusions
Vaitkus, Vytautas	1971	Vilnius	Concussion
Vaitkus, Vytautas	1943	Vilnius	Bullet wound, chest (dead)
Vaitkūnas, Raimondas	1958	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Vaitukienė, Joana (f)	1955	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Vaičaitis, Vaidotas	1969	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Valantinavičienė, Stanislava (f)	1945	Kaunas	Hand wounds
Valungevičius, Tomas	1921	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Valuškevičienė, Regina (f)	1938	Vilnius	Bullet wound to the foot
Vangelis, Algimantas	1952	Šalčininkai	n/a
Vanilaitienė, Sofija (f)	1928	Vilni ·s	n/a
Varkauskaitė, Aurelija (f)	1960	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Varkauskas, Feliksas	1923	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Vasiliauskas, Audrius	1967	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Vasiliauskas, Petras	1946	Vilnius	Eye damage
Vasiliauskas, Vladas	1945	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Vasiliauskienė, Bornadeta (f)	1950	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Vaškelis, Arnoldas	1968	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Velicka, Gintas	1968	Druskininkai	Acoustic trauma
Velickienė, B.	1956	Švenčionys	n/a
Verkelytė, Emilija (f)	1935	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Vilbrikas, Virginijus	1964	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Vilkaitis, Romas	1941	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Vilkišius, Kęstutis	1967	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Viltrakis, Arūnas	1961	Vilnius district	Acoustic trauma
Viluckis, Adomas	1946	Vilnius	Concussion
Vinkevičienė, Nijolė (f)	1937	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Viršacaitė, Gražina (f)	1972	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Vitkevičiūtė, Gražina (f)	1949	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Višomirskis, Robertas	1963	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Volynecas, Andrejus	1972	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Vosilius, Vytautas	1962	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Vytas, Arūnas	1965	Kaunas	Acoustic trauma
Vyšniauskas, Paulius	1978	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Vėbra, Ernestas	1932	Kaunas	Head lacerations

Name	Year of birth	Place of residence	Diagnosis
Vėlyvis, Stasys	1938	Vilnius	Tear gas poisoning
Yeas, Vilius	1943	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Yezevich, Marius	1941	n/a	Torn ligaments
Zabarauskas, Aleksandras	1938	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Zapulis, Stanislovas	1939	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Zagorskas, Edvardas Algis	1945	Kėdainiai	Acoustic trauma
Zagorskas, Rolandas	1968	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Zagorskas, Valdas	1963	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Zagurskas, Edvardas	1945	Kaunas	Acoustic trauma
Zailskas, Algimantas	1942	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Zakarevicius, Mindaugas	1969	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Zaliauskas, Stasys	1964	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Ziliūnas, Giedrius	1963	Vilnius	Head contusions
Zubauskas, Albinas	1945	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Zubenko, Mikhail	1953	Vilnius	Hand and chest contusions
Zujus, Gintaras	1969	Kaunas	Concussion
Zvičavičienė, Janina (f)	1951	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Žalgevicius, Žilvinas	1971	Vilnius	Concussion
Žemaitis, Valentinas	1952	Panevėžys	Acoustic trauma
Žiaunys, Jonas	1923	Panevėžys	Pelvic fracture
Žilaitis, Virginijus	1962	Vilnius	Shock
Žilionis, Dainius	1973	Kaunas	Acoustic trauma
Žiupsnys, Steponas	1945	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Žizytė, Rugilė (f)	1973	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Žostautas, Vidas	1966	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Žukauskas, A.	1939	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Žukauskas, Julius	1948	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Žukauskienė, Janina (f)	1937	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Žukienė, Aldona (f)	1945	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Žukienė, Ruta (f)	1947	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Žvybas, Albertas	1947	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma
Žygas, Gintautas	1953	Vilnius	Acoustic trauma

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INFORMATION BY THE PROSECUTOR GENERAL
OF THE REPUBLIC OF LITHUANIA

on the violations of law and crimes carried out by soldiers of the Soviet Army on the territory of the Republic of Lithuania from January through April, 1991

(This document was issued by the Prosecutor General of the Republic of Lithuania, Arturas Paulauskas.)

On January 11, 1991, at approximately 12:15 p.m. in Vilnius, during the occupation of the Press Center, V. Luksys and Kvickauskas were wounded by firearms in the face. A. Vaitkunas was wounded in the leg. J. Kaziniauskas was beaten and later, in hospital, he was diagnosed as having a concussion.

On January 11, 1991, at approximately 12:55 p.m. on the intersection of Zalgirio and Rinktines streets, a tank (Nr. 511) of the Soviet Army drove into the on-coming traffic lane and rolled over a truck "ZIL-130," driven by J. Zaunys. The driver, with broken pelvis bones, was transported to the hospital.

On January 11, 1991, at approximately 1 p.m. soldiers of the Soviet Army seized a building of the National Security Department in Vilnius, Kostiuskos St. Nr. 36. During the occupation employees of the Department were threatened by gun.

On January 12, 1991, at 11:10 a.m. in the Varena region on the road Druskininkai - Porech, soldiers of the Soviet Army drove out employees of the National Security Department from their facilities, and took over the premises. Damage -- 8000 rubles.

On January 12, 1991, at approximately 2 p.m. in Kaunas on Zibertas Street a vehicle "GAZ-66" from military unit No. 10999 violated traffic rules and collided with a civilian vehicle. As a result of the accident, one civilian was killed and three wounded.

On January 12, 1991, at approximately 1 p.m. soldiers of the Soviet Army seized a building which previously belonged to the DOSAAF (Soviet volunteer association to the support Army, Navy and Air Forces) in Vilnius, Basanavicius Street Nr. 15.

On January 12, 1991, at approximately 2:40 p.m. in Vilnius, Stikliai St. Nr. 6/8, soldiers of the Soviet Army stole eight rifles and paperwork from facilities of the Hunting and Fishing Association in Vilnius.

On the night of January 12, 1991 the vehicle of V. Palkevicius was stolen. It was established later that this was done by a soldier of military unit No. 71464, Mackevich.

On January 13, 1991 at approximately 2 p.m. Soviet soldiers occupied the Television Tower and the facilities of the Television and Radio Committee in Vilnius with the use of military technical equipment and firearms. Fourteen people were killed, 600 wounded.

On January 13, 1991, soldiers of the Soviet Army seized the Valakampiai training center of the Police Academy of the Republic of Lithuania and stole weapons stored there.

On January 13, 1991, tank units of the Soviet Army damaged or demolished nine private and government vehicles on Suderves Street in Vilnius. Damage -- 35,000 rubles.

On January 13, 1991, at approximately 2 p.m. in the Trakai region on the Highway Vilnius - Kaunas, while filming a column of moving armored Soviet Army vehicles, A. Zrelskis was wounded by an automatic weapon, and the vehicle of A. Bublaitis was hit by a bullet.

On January 14, 1991, at approximately 1:30 p.m. in Vilnius at Gediminas Prospect Nr. 34 Soviet soldiers took away a camera from A. Fedoseyev, cameraman of the Frech TV company TF-1, while he was filming the occupied radio retransmission station in Vilnius.

On January 14, 1991 on Seskine Street in Vilnius, R. Dubickas was detained by Soviet soldiers for no reason. He was transported to the Military Headquarters of Vilnius, held for two days and beaten. Then the military tied up Dubickas' hands and eyes, transported him out of Vilnius and dropped him out of a truck on the Highway Vilnius - Kaunas. Dubickas received severe injuries, endangering his life.

On January 14, 1991, at 11:30 p.m. in the Trakai region on the Highway Vilnius - Kaunas, a vehicle smashed into a armored personnel carrier (APC) of the Soviet Army which was blocking the road without its lights on.

On January 15, 1991, at approximately 1:20 p.m. in Vilnius at the Rinktine-Seimyniskiu intersection, a drunk officer of the Soviet Army, while driving in a car, opened fire for no reason from a pistol in a place where poeple were massively gathered - the funeral of the victoms of January 13 was under way.

On January 15, 1991 at 3 p.m. two soldiers of the Soviet Army entered the cafe "Trakai" in Vilnius and demanded at gunpoint that alcohol be given to them. This day was a day of mourning and alcohol was not sold in the cafe. Nontheless the soldiers forced an employee of the cafe to pour them 300 grams of cognac, and left after paying only 10 rubles.

On January 16, 1991 at approximately 3 p.m. a Soviet APC blocked a road in Ukmerge and stopped a vehicle of the Lithuanian traffic patrol. Two pistols and employee identification papers were confiscated, and their mobile radio station was demolished.

On January 16, 1991, at 8 p.m. in Kedainiai armed Soviet Soldiers stopped the vehicle of A. Barodinas, searched it, and took away a cassette player and six cassettes.

On January 17, 1991 at approximately 4 p.m. an unestablished military vehicle of the Soviet Army crashed through the gate of the Buknaiciu customs point in the Mazeikiai region without reacting to the signals to stop given by the customs officers.

On January 23, 1991, at approximately 1:30 p.m. soldiers of the Soviet Army occupied the central press paper and dye warehouse of "Spauda" [typography] in Vilnius, Kirtimai St. 55.

On January 24, 1991, at approximately 5:40 p.m. in Vilnius on Savanoriai Prospect Soviet soldiers shot at two civilian vehicles from an APC. No one was hurt.

On January 24, 1991, at approximately 10:15 p.m. Soviet soldiers stopped a vehicle in Vilnius on Gelezinio Vilko Street and took away a "Nikon FM-2" camera from M. Baranauskas, a correspondent of the "Novosti" information agency.

On January 24, 1991, at approximately 5:30 p.m. soldiers of the Soviet Army detained, beat, transported to military headquarters and then released M. Pleckavicius on Savanoriai Street in Vilnius. Statements with similar contents were received by the General Prosecutor of Vilnius from Vaitkevicius, Steponavicius, Balnys, Slusnys, Matulauskas, Terleckas, Aukstuolis and Skiudolas.

On January 25, 1991, at 8:30 p.m. soldiers of the Soviet Army detained V. Jurkevicius for no reason on Donelaitis Street in Kaunas. He was beaten and released from a military unit only the next day. After his release Jurkevicius was put in the hospital.

On January 25, 1991, at approximately 7 p.m. civilian Mr. Aleknavicius was detained in Kaunas without any reason. He was transported to a military unit, beaten, robbed and then released. 590 rubles were missing from him.

On January 26, 1991 in Vilnius Soviet soldiers executed an unlawful search in the flat of Ms. Sokolovaite - Plytnikiene, supposedly searching for weapons. The soldiers were not sanctioned by the Prosecutor General.

On January 26 at 11 p.m. in the restroom of the restaurant "Saltinelis" a drunk soldier from unit Nr. 5458, J. Sorvilov, began to shoot into the ground from a pistol. There were no injuries.

On January 27 at approximately 1 a.m. in Vilnius near the Gariunai bridge, A. Salkin was injured in the leg by gunshot from Soviet soldiers. Salkin was taken to the hospital.

On January 27 at approximately 7:20 p.m. Soviet soldiers attacked a customs post in Lavoriskes in the Vilnius region. The premises were demolished and three employees were beaten. Bullets were fired for no reason.

On January 27 at approximately 8:30 p.m. Soviet soldiers attacked the Medininkai customs point in the Vilnius region. The premises were demolished and two employees were beaten.

On January 28 in the Salcininkai region on the territory of the "Uz tevyne" collective farm a Soviet army military plane dropped an experimental bomb. The explosion cut off water and electrical supply to the nearby animal farm. No people were injured.

On January 28 at approximately 11 p.m. at the eighth kilometer of the highway Vilnius-Ukmergedriver J. Buta collided with a Soviet APC which was standing in the road without lights on. No one was injured in the accident.

On January 29 at 0:50 a.m. in Vilnius near the Gariunai bridge soldiers shot up G. Ziura's automobile. The automobile was shot in four places. There were no injuries.

On January 29 at approximately 2:40 a.m. in the same place J. Tautkus was shot in the head and killed.

On February 2 at approximately 8 p.m. in Klaipeda on Mantas Street at a bus stop, five soldiers beat D. Ubartaite, V. Ubartas and V. Loktevas.

On February 3 at approximately 4:10 a.m. in Vilnius on Ratnycios Street a drunk soldier of unit Nr. 73890, V. Malec, shot into an apartment building wall for no reason.

On February 16 at approximately 6 a.m. on a road near Druskininkai Soviet soldiers shot up the automobile of A. Pauza. The front windshield of his automobile was broken, there were no injuries.

On February 23 at approximately 11 p.m. in the Silenai village of the Siauliai region an automobile of military unit Nr. 73917, violating traffic rules, collided with the automobile of V. Liukas, which was standing on the shoulder of the road. There were no injuries, but the automobile was damaged severely.

On February 26 at approximately 9:30 p.m. Soviet soldiers conducted an illegal search of the Plunge television retransmission station. According to the soldiers, they were searching for weapons.

On March 9 drunk Soviet soldiers on Basanavicius Street in Vilnius detained Meilunas, Charitonovas and Jasiulionis for no reason. Meilunas and Jasiulionis were beaten, their money, a watch and an audio cassette were taken away. After detaining the aforementioned people, they were told to lie down on the cement, beaten with rifle butts, mocked and sworn at.

On March 14 at approxiamtely noon in Vilnius in a former building of the DOSAAF (voluntary military technical school) a Soviet soldier, acting carelessly with his weapon, shot in the head and killed A. Oskolkov, born 1976.

On March 20 at approximately 6.55 p.m. in Vilnius on Pylimo Street near house Nr. 6, Soviet soldiers shot up a minibus of the Republic's National Security Department. Three employees were injured.

On March 27 at 12:56 p.m. in Vilnius at Gediminas Pr. Nr. 51 Soviet soldiers detained and took E. Zvinklis away to an unknown destination.

On March 28 at 12:30 p.m. in Klaipeda at Taikos Pr. Nr. 216-9 Soviet soldiers broke into the apartment of Zuravliov, searching for their son, who had left the army. The criminal acts by the Soviet soldiers were stopped by the Klaipeda police.

On April 3 at 11:30 a.m. in Kaunas on Jovarai Street Soviet soldiers forcefully dragged M. Gedmintas from his private automobile, sat him in a covered truck and drive in an undetermined direction. M. Gedmintas had left the Soviet army.

On April 19 at 11:30 a.m. in the Vilnius region of Medininkai Soviet soldiers demolished a customs post. From the post's employees eight rubber sticks and a portable radio station were taken, telephone wires were cut.

On April 23 soldiers stole 15 automobiles from the Darius and Girenas autotechnical school in Kaunas and took them to their military unit.

On April 23 at 11:30 a.m. soldiers took two automobiles from the Birzai avations sports club of Birzai and took them to their military unit.

On April 23 employees of the technical schools of Klaipeda on Birute Street were driven out, the school is being guarded by soldiers.

On April 23 in Kyviskiai, a Vilnius region, an aeroclub was occupied by Soviet soldiers.

On April 23 at 6:15 a.m. in Marijampole soldiers stole all the military equipment from a technical school and took it to their military unit.

On April 25 Soviet soldiers, presenting documents signed by the leadership of the Baltic military garrison (inventory documents), invaded technical schools of "Vytis" and took all the technical equipment to military units.

On April 25 from 5:30 a.m. to 7:30 a.m. in Alytus on Santaika Street soldiers took all techinical equipment from an autotechnical school to their military unit.

On April 25 at 9 a.m. in the Prienai region Soviet soldiers took all technical equipment from the Balbieriskiai agricultural school to their military unit.

On April 25 at 9:30 a.m. from the Prienai region Pociunai sports aviation school Soviet soldiers took all technical equipment to their military unit.

According to these facts, the offices of the Prosecutor General are conducting investigations.

DEPARTMENT OF STATISTICS
under the Cabinet of Ministers of the Republic of Lithuania

Vilnius

To: Vytautas LANDSBERGIS
President
Supreme Council
Republic of Lithuania

March 29, 1991

DAMAGES CAUSED TO THE ECONOMY OF THE REPUBLIC
BY THE ARMY OF OCCUPATION IN JANUARY-FEBRUARY 1991

In compliance with the resolution of the Government of the Republic, the Department of Statistics has obtained from enterprises, organizations, offices and farms data about the damages sustained by them and citizens due to the attack of the army of occupation. The losses suffered by the economy and the citizens of the Republic are evidenced by the following data:

Kind of damage	Rubles in thousands	Of the total damage (in percentage)
Total amount of damage:	74,917,000	100
Net value of the destroyed (occupied) property (minus depreciation)	69,292,300	92.5
Costs of repair (rebuilding) of damaged property	672,100	0.9
Lost financial resources and securities (seized, destroyed)	30,800	0.04
Losses in production, construction and services:	2,718,000	3.6
destroyed (seized), damaged equipment, resources, raw materials	2,335,400	3.1
due to security of vital	382,600	0.5

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buildings against the invasion of the army of occupation		
Losses in profit:	512,200	0.8
due to destroyed (seized), damaged equipment, resources, raw materials	415,100	0.6
due to security of vital buildings against the invasion of the army of occupation	97,000	0.2
Compensations, benefits for forcible loss of jobs	159,600	0.2
Damages due to injuries sustained by the population	1,061,4	
Expenses for security of vital buildings against the invasion of the army of occupation	470,600	0.5

The largest share of losses - 74,34,200 rubles (99.2 percent of the total sum of losses) has been sustained by towns, and 576,800 rubles (0.8 percent) by districts. Vilnius has suffered most of all: its losses amount 74,176,300 rubles. The losses of Kaunas amount to 44,300 roubles, losses of Panevėžys - 36,000 rubles, Šiauliai - 20,000 rubles, of Alytus - 1,700 rubles, of Marijampolė - 61,900 rubles. Among the districts, the losses of Šilutė district amount to 116,200 rubles, of the Kaunas district - 98,200 rubles, of the Kelmė district - 37,300 rubles, of the Kėdainiai district - 36,400 rubles.

Owing to the actions of the army of occupation the heaviest damage has been done to telecommunications: losses amount to 48,303,100 rubles - 64.5 percent of the total sum of losses. Out of this sum 45,715,700 rubles worth of damage has been done to Lithuanian Radio and Television. The greatest damage has been done to the television film depository (21,665,000 ruble loss) and the technical centre (186,661,300 ruble loss). The losses of industrial firms amount to 95,500 rubles, of construction organizations - 426,100 rubles, transport companies - 335,800 rubles, farms - 198,900 rubles, other branches of economy - 25,557,600 rubles.

V. JANKAUSKAS
Director General

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For Immediate Release

January 25, 1991

Release No. 074

Bulletin: Lithuanian Parliament President reacts to night's shootings and nabbings by the Soviet military in Lithuania

After last night's shootings and abductions of people by the Soviet military (details in releases No. 072 and No. 073), President of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania, Vytautas Landsbergis, told the Bureau of Information that the "Vilnius garrison is becoming a mob of bandits."

"Possibly the aim is to force us to ask for assistance from the Ministry of the Interior of the USSR, as was the strategy used both in Georgia and Moldova," Mr. Landsbergis continued. "A similar case was that of Latvia, when Latvian Supreme Council President Anatolijs Gorbunovs asked for the assistance of Minister of Internal Affairs Pugo. Then it turns out that we are asking for their help, and Moscow comes to the rescue to save its children."

"If they are not being released because they are employees of the Parliament," said the Lithuanian Parliament President, "then they are being treated as prisoners of war."

The Lithuanian Government has tried to reach military officers at the "North Town" military base, where the Lithuanians are being held constantly throughout the night, to no avail. Either no one answers, or lower-ranking soldiers refuse to connect the Government with their officers.

This morning Mr. Landsbergis finally got through to Vilnius garrison head General Uschopchik. When the Parliament President expressed protest that people are being held at the military base, as well as being beaten, General Uschopchik denied that there was any form of maltreatment, even though foreign correspondents in the room, who have been since released, are witnesses to the beatings. In the shuffle of the release of the foreign correspondents, belongings which were taken by the military were returned in frazzled heaps, among them were some pieces of identification and belongings of the people still being retained at the military base. Upon their release the correspondents gave these things over to the Parliament Bureau of Information, and they are now in the possession of the Procurator General of the Republic of Lithuania.

-- MORE --

Mr. Landsbergis also demanded to know where the people being held at the at the military base are at present, and that they be released immediately. Mr. Uschopchik said that they are "where they should be, are undergoing interrogation, and will be released when they are ready." The Parliament President also warned the General that one of the Parliament Security employees is a diabetic and may need medical attention, and that he should "stop telling fairy tales". The General asserted that the Lithuanian Parliament Security shot at the soldiers first. The only employee of the Parliament who was armed was the driver of the first car, which was taking Parliament Security funds from Vilnius to Kaunas. A car with two other Security personnel had observed the shooting, and stated firmly that no gunfire came from the automobile with the Parliament Security employees.

Mr. Landsbergis also contacted Assistant to the USSR General Staff in Moscow, General Bronislav Omelichev, and described the situation. General Omelichev asserted that no such events could have taken place, that soldiers would not fire for no reason. He stated that he would take Mr. Landsbergis's information into account and check."

City Procurator Donatas Sodeika informed Supreme Council President Vytautas Landsbergis that a criminal lawsuit has been brought against the military in Vilnius, based on the article called "banditry.

(ENDS)

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For Immediate Release

January 25, 1991

Release No. 079

Bulletin: The situation in the Vilnius Garrison is getting out of control

President of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania received a Protest today from the Commander of the Vilnius Garrison, General-Major V. Uschopchik. In the Protest he claims that the Lithuanian Police is not carrying out its duties in guaranteeing the public order and security. Although he does not mention the facts of "detaining and disarming the employes of the Ministry of Interior" (see release No. 061). As a result of that, he warns, "the situation in the Vilnius Garrison is getting more and more out of control."

(ENDS)

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For Immediate Release

January 28, 1991

Release No. 087

Bulletin: Lithuanian Parliament President reacts to summit postponement

Supreme Council President Vytautas Landsbergis, in referring to the United States' position that the issue of the Baltic States was not a factor in today's decision to postpone the summit which was to take place in Moscow, said: "I hope that such a formulation will not encourage the Soviet militarists to take new aggressive action, for example, that promised by the Order of Ministers Yazov and Pugo."

In a press conference today U.S. Secretary of State James Baker had been quoted as saying that President Gorbachev is "wrestling with a number of problems" and he is "coping with them to the best of his ability." In reaction to this, Mr. Landsbergis said:

"President Gorbachev has many problems not only in his own country. The problems are made up by actions of his army in other countries -- Poland, Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia."

"As for his 'ability' (referring to the above quote by Baker)," Mr. Landsbergis continued, "either it is not large and President Gorbachev is not capable of stopping evil, or else he has enough ability to do evil, and no one is taking his ability away."

(ENDS)

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For Immediate Release
Release No. 112

February 7, 1991

Bulletin: Lithuanian statement concerning announcement of Soviet military maneuvers

The following is a statement issued by President of the Supreme Council Vytautas Landsbergis and Prime Minister Gediminas Vagnorius:

With the approach of the unviversal opinion poll-plebiscite of the population of Lithuania, we declare the impermissible interference of USSR military forces. Leaflets are being dropped from military helicopters, whereby an unknown "citizens's committee" is agitating for nonparticipation in the plebiscite, even though the USSR army deployed on Lithuanian territory has no right to assist such actions of unnamed individuals. The USSR military patrols of Lithuanian cities and roads have yet to be called off, while the start of military maneuvers has been announced for February 10, when the votes will be counted. These and other military actions are impermissible pressure intimidating citizens. A great obstacle for information is the still continuing occupation of the television and radio buildings and press building, for which the army of the USSR Internal Affairs Ministry currently bears complete responsibility. In addition, this occupation in being used for disinformation, agitation of an intimidating nature against the free expression of citizens' will. Television and radio stations of USSR military units deployed in Lithuania are undertaking similar impermissible actions. The goal of all this is to negatively influence the results of the plebiscite. Protesting against such actions of the USSR armed forces, we direct the attention of the General Procuracy of the Republic of Lithuania as well as international legal organizations to the mentioned actions and suggest that they receive a proper legal evaluation.

(ENDS)

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For Immediate Release

February 8, 1991

Release No. 116

Bulletin: Lithuanian Parliament President receives information on military maneuvers

The following is an official letter received by Lithuanian Parliament President Vytautas Landsbergis late last night from the commander of the Baltic military district, General-Colonel F. Kuzmin:

I inform you that in the territories of Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia, from February 10 to 20, team-staff instruction according to the soldier preparatory plan of the Baltic military district will take place in areas, with the participation of soldiers.

Chief of the District Staff, General-Lieutenant Chaus Piotr Grigorjevich, has been delegated head of instruction.

(ENDS)

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For Immediate Release

February 24, 1991

Release No. 139

Bulletin: Supreme Council President makes statement

The President of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania, Vytautas Landsbergis, gave a statement to the Bureau of Information today regarding military actions on land for the liberation of the Kuwaiti state The text is as follows:

We sincerely hope that the liberation of Kuwait will be successful and will not take long to achieve, and that the government of Kuwait will once again control its entire territory, and that no one -- neither Iraq nor any one of its supporters -- will hesitate in their recognition of Kuwaiti independence.

We also hope that the events in the Persian Gulf will not lessen the significance of events in the "Baltic Gulf" for Europe and the world. The Soviet war against the Baltic States, begun in 1940 and pursued in various different forms up to and including the murderous actions of January 1991, must be brought to an end through the signing of a new Peace Treaty and the full restoration of the independence of Lithuania, Latvia, and Estonia. Democratic nations of the world are acclaimed for their consistent, not two-faced, foreign policy.

(ENDS)

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For Immediate Release

March 03, 1991

Release No. 148

Bulletin: Parliament President comments on statement of U.N. Human Rights Commission Chairman

On February 26, 1991 the Chairman of the 47th session of the U.N. Commission on Human Rights, Mr. Enrique Bernales Ballesteros, read a statement noting the positive developments in the Soviet Union, and expressing concern over the violations of human rights in Latvia and Lithuania in mid January. The Commission on Human Rights "welcomed the announced decision of the Government of the Soviet Union to conduct a thorough investigation of these events and to bring to justice those responsible; noted the readiness of the Government of the Soviet Union to communicate without delay to the Chairman of the Commission the results of this investigation..."

The Commission statement was a consensus text communicated to the Chairman by various delegations, including the USSR, with the agreement that no debate will follow.

The President of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Lithuania, Vytautas Landsbergis, gave his comments on the Human Rights Commission Statement.

"It is unfortunate," said Mr. Landsbergis, "that once again interested parties succeeded in having the issue of the Baltics enveloped in a general statement, without allowing discussion. The same type of statements were heard from the Soviet Government after the tragic events in Tblisi and Baku," noted Mr. Landsbergis. "As far as I know, not a single person responsible was brought to justice. I conclude that the Commission statement only took the Soviet position into consideration. Then the fact that the Commission statement was one of consensus reaffirms an observation made long ago -- that consensus with the Soviets means the Sovietization of politics and policy. In this case the only positive aspect is a promise that has not been fulfilled yet -- that those guilty will be brought to justice.

"Since the USSR Government has stated its willingness to communicate the results of an investigation on the events in Lithuania and Latvia," Mr. Landsbergis continued, "we can only hope that the Commission on Human Rights will not forget this promise. It may even be fitting to request a report on the progress of the investigation. The Soviet Government cannot say that it has no foundation for beginning its work, since the independent organization of Soviet military personnel, 'Shield,' has already made its own investigation and has provided a long list of names of who, by its deduction, are directly guilty of the military action taken in mid January," said Mr. Landsbergis.

"With the assistance of international organizations like the United Nations, I believe those killed in Latvia and Lithuania will be remembered not only through emotion, but through justice," he concluded.

(ENDS)

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For Immediate Release

April 09, 1991

Release No. 190

Bulletin: Soviet military against possibility of negotiations between Lithuania and the USSR

On April 09, 1991 at approximately 9 a.m. another building belonging to the Government of the Republic of Lithuania - automobile drivers' school on Plytines street in Vilnius - was seized. The action was carried out by armed soldiers in camouflage uniforms and bullet proof vests under the command of a Soviet Army Major who refused to identify himself or present his documents. Algimantas Norvilas, a Deputy of the Supreme Council and General Director of the Sport and Technical Association "Vytis" which supervises the drivers school, vehemently protested to the soldiers but was threatened with a gun and chased away. Employees also left the school which is presently occupied by the Soviet Military.

The President of the Supreme Council, Vytautas Landsbergis, gave his comments on the event:
"We will soon find out the gravity and the dimension of this provocation from the reaction of the Government of the USSR. If an order for the soldiers to immediately withdraw will not be given from Moscow, we will consider this the start of a new escalation of provocative actions against Lithuania. It may be in connection with a planned trip of USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev to Japan, because specifically when he is absent or supposedly unfaware the greatest blows are carried out. Another possible version - an attempt by the conservative CPSU and Military Forces to torpedo starting negotiations between the USSR and Lithuania. Therefore, either the politaical leadership of the USSR is being mocked, or else the Leadership itself is being hypocritical. From the point of view of Lithuania it is a new act of Soviet military aggression, a strange responce of 'generals' to the attempts of the Lithuanian Government to improve conditions of life for the Soviet soldiers here."

A member of the Lithuanian State Delegation for Negotiations with the USSR, General director of the National Security Department of the Republic of Lithuania, Audrius Butkevicius, called this action "a respons of the military to the protocol adopted during the official meeting of the Delegations of the USSR and Lithuania on April 4, 1991 in Moscow. The following principles, among others, are fixed in this protocol: "impermissibility of illegal forms of influence on the part of either Party" and "respect for other universally acknowledged principles of law".

(ENDS)